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University of Helsinki
Finland

FROM MIGHT TO MANDATE
VALUES IN RULERS' PUBLIC SPEECHES
IN FINLAND 1809-2000

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This study looked at the values expressed in rulers' (Czars and Presidents) public speeches in Finland from 1809-2000. During this time Finland underwent a transformation from a small, rural, backward, peripheral province into one of the forefront Western democracies in terms of transparent democratic practices, citizens' welfare, education, and living standards.

Rulers never reign in a vacuum, whether they are democratically elected presidents or hereditary emperors. Their rule is subject to cultural expectations, which is linked to the place and time of their reign. Culture, i.e. the shared beliefs and assumptions uniting both rulers and the people they reign over, influences the perceptions of what kind of reigning is recognized as just and suitable. At the core of culture are its values, the abstract goals according to which the society tries to live, concepts of what is good and worthy to be pursued.

Society's values are manifested and upheld through rituals and ceremonies, such as recurring public speeches. These speeches are most often held by the heads of state, acting as gatekeepers and spokesmen for the entire society. Three types of written collections of speeches directed to the entire population were used: Parliament Opening Speeches (1809-2000), Prayer Day Declarations (1812-1999) and New Year's Speeches (1935-2000). The texts were analyzed using qualitative theory-driven content analysis. For the analysis a coding manual was created, which was based on Schwartz' Theory of Basic Human Values and on previous Finnish value research.

Overall changes of values in the data follow the predicted pattern of societal pluralization, but not secularization. The findings confirm the applicability of the survey-based Schwartz Value Theory also for archival value research. However, the findings also demonstrate that the two value types (Spirituality and Work-related values) found in previous Finnish studies, are also necessary to capture the essence of this timeframe. Contrary to the expectations of the value theory, Self-enhancement values (Power and Achievement) and Self-direction values are not presented as values for the individual, but only as values for the collective.

The Czars and Presidents mostly differ on scope of their value emphasis. In their speeches the Czars concentrate on Benevolence, Spirituality and Conformity values, i.e. they emphasize the in-group and its welfare. As for the Presidents, they appeal to a wide variety of values, and reflect more the contemporary political situations, for instance Work-related values are accentuated especially in the times of crisis (e.g. war, recession). As the rulers present themselves as promoters of the society's goals, they also act as creators and protectors of cohesion in their speeches. This results in the emphasis on Self-transcendence values and on values promoting social cohesion, especially Conservation values. Towards the end of the time included in this study (1980s and 1990s) there is a marked rise in Universalism values, as questions of nature

conservation and maintenance of global peace come to the forefront of the larger political agenda.

This thesis applies social psychological viewpoints to political history, thus deepening the researching and the interpretation of historical phenomena. The results of this study underline the importance of the context in value research, and contribute to the widening of value research into political and archival data. Furthermore, this study adds to the research of how societal cohesion is rhetorically maintained. The results can also be applied in larger societal context to better understand the links between leaders and their followers.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämä tutkimus tarkastelee Suomen hallitsijoiden (tsaarien ja presidenttien) julkisissa puheissa esiintyviä arvoja vuosien 1809–2000 aikana. Tänä aikana Suomessa tapahtui suuri muutos: köyhästä takapajuisesta maakunnasta Euroopan äärilaidalla tuli demokraattinen länsimaa, joka erottuu edukseen kansalaisten hyvinvoinnin, koulutuksen ja elintason suhteen. Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu kolmenlaisista kirjallisesta muodosta olevista koko kansalle suunnatuista julkisista puheista: Valtiopäivien avajaispuheet (1809–2000), rukouspäiväjulistukset (1812–1999) sekä uudenvuodenpuheet (1935–2000). Tekstit analysoitiin käyttäen teorialähtöistä laadullista sisällönanalyysiä. Analyysi perustuu laajalti Schwartzin arvoteoriaan sekä aiempiin suomalaisiin arvotutkimuksiin.

Yhteiskunnan arvot ovat jaettuja käsityksiä siitä, mikä on hyvää ja tavoittelemisen arvoista, ja ne vaikuttavat siihen, minkälainen hallitseminen näyttäytyy oikeana ja tarkoituksenmukaisena. Arvoja tuodaan ilmi muun muassa erilaisten rituaalien ja seremonioiden kautta, joita ovat esimerkiksi vuosittain toistuvat julkiset puheet. Näitä puheita pitävät yleensä hallitsijat tai muut johtohenkilöt, toimien ikään kuin koko yhteisön äänitorvina.

Puheissa esiintyvät arvomuutokset seuraavat ennakoitua mallia demokratian mukanaan tuomasta yhteiskunnan monimuotoistumisesta, mutta eivät vahvista oletettua hengellisyyden ja henkisyysväistymistä. Tutkimuksen tulokset vahvistavat kyselytutkimuksiin perustuvan Schwartzin arvoteorian soveltuvuuden myös kirjoitetun materiaaliin tutkimiseen, laajentaen sen sovellusaluetta muuhunkin kirjalliseen ja poliittiseen aineistoon. Lisäksi tulokset osoittavat että aiemmissa suomalaisissa tutkimuksissa löydetty työn arvot sekä henkisyysarvot ovat olennaisia tämän aikavälin kulttuurin kuvaamiseksi. Toisin kuin tutkimuksen pohjalla oleva arvoteoria olettaa, eivät valta-, itseohjautuvuus- ja suoriutumisarvot ole puheissa esillä yksilön vaan yhteisön arvoina.

Tutkimuksen tulokset korostavat kontekstin merkitystä arvotutkimuksessa. Tsaarien ja presidenttien suurin ero on puheissa voimakkaimmin korostettujen arvojen keskittymisessä. Tsaarit painottavat hyväntahtoisuus-, henkisyys- ja yhdenmukaisuusarvoja huomattavasti enemmän kuin muita arvoja. Presidentit puolestaan painottavat laajempaa kirjoa arvoista, jotka heijastelivat enemmän kutakin senhetkistä poliittista tilannetta. Näin oli varsinkin kriisiaikoina (esim. sodat, taloudellinen lama), jolloin myös työ itseisarvona nostettiin painokkaasti esille. Lisäksi hallitsijat asemoivat itsensä puheissaan yhtenäisyyden luojiksi ja suojelijoiksi sekä yhteisön päämäärien edistäjiksi. Tästä seuraa se, että puheissa korostettiin itsensä ylittämisarvoja ja yhtenäisyyttä edistäviä arvoja, kuten esim. yhdenmukaisuutta.

Väitöskirjani soveltaa sosiaalipsykologiaa poliittisen historian tutkimukseen ja tulkintaan. Lisäksi sen tulokset valottavat sitä, kuinka yhteiskunnallista yhtenäisyyttä retorisesti ylläpidetään. Tuloksia arvojen merkityksestä yhteisöjen

yhdistäjinä voidaan myös soveltaa johtajien ja seuraajien välisen yhteyden tutkimiseen laajoissa yhteiskunnallisissa konteksteissa.

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1 INTRODUCTION

All mankind is of one author, and is one volume [...] No man is an island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main.

John Donne, 1623

Leadership is a ubiquitous feature of the human condition. It sets agendas and goals, defines who we are and how we should conduct ourselves, and motivates and organizes us to do both great and terrible things.

Hogg, van Knippenberg & Rast, 2012

Rulers, be they democratically elected presidents or hereditary emperors, never reign in a vacuum. They are born at a time and in a place, just like all other common mortals, and come to reign in a specific time/place, therefore being subject to cultural constraints as all the other their contemporaries. What describes and defines these circumstances? What is it that distinguishes one set of social constraints from another? What is it that rulers and the people share, so that the act of reigning makes sense to those that are being ruled?

Undoubtedly there are many angles from which to answer these questions, but one of the key components of any given society are the kinds of things that are held in esteem, that are thought to be praiseworthy, desirable, worth pursuing. In other words, the abstract desirable goals according to which the society tries to live, and tries to socialize its members to adhere to, are one of the most pervasive and circumstance-defining things that even rulers are subject to.

These abstract goals inform the rulers (and their subjects) of what is good, of what is worth fighting for, of what is really important in life, of what the preferences and priorities are and should be. In one word, these can be called values, and they are at the core of what a society is about. Values are at the core of what sets the agenda for the time-space continuum in which even rulers find themselves.

Values are posited to guide actions, behavior and its evaluation, both for individuals and groups, distinguishing between cultures (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992), smaller groupings of people such as social classes, students, members of professions, political parties (Wilson, 2004) and voters, and adherents to various religious persuasions (Roccas, 2005), even generations (Lyons et al., 2007), and gender (Schwartz & Rubel, 2005; Schwartz & Rubel-Lifschitz, 2009).

No rulership (or leadership, for that matter) can take place without the people who are ruled, sharing the same time-space continuum; even the act of ruling itself expresses something of the times and the location in which it takes place, i.e. the ways of ruling can also be seen as an expression of culture.

Furthermore, embedded in the ruling there is also an expression of the kind of bonds that link those who rule with those who are being ruled. In a representative

democracy this link is more straightforward: no ruler can rule without having won the right to represent her (or his) constituency. What about hereditary rulership? What is the glue binding together the subjects and the sovereign, the leader and the followers? Are there bonds of a different kind than for democratic rulers?

This study is based on the concept of culture being the environment, the inescapable essence that unites people, forming them and being formed by them at the same time. Culture, as the myriad definitions show, is ephemeral in its essence, cannot be captured in one single measurable item, but only observed by its manifestations. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) list as measurable extensions of culture its practices (symbols, heroes, and rituals) and its values³. Culture is also manifest by “*functioning of societal institutions, in their organization, practices and policies*” (Schwartz, 2013, p. 2).

Many of the rituals of the society are meant to convey and uphold the understanding that society has of itself, and in most cultures the leaders are actively involved in the enacting of these rituals (cf. Rossano, 2012). One of the most widespread rituals are the public speeches rulers hold as part of repetitive ceremonies, e.g. the State of the Union speeches in the US. Leaders and rulers usually also speak at transition points, e.g. at the beginning of their reign or tenure (cf. Sigelman, 1996), at the beginning of the new season of Parliament, or in the beginning of a new year.

As was stated earlier, at the core of culture lie the values it upholds and socializes its members to (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005; Schwartz, 2011b). The main transmission of values occurs in families during childhood and adolescence as a part of the general socialization process (cf. Knafo & Schwartz, 2009; Parlevliet, 2012; Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Vedder et al., 2009), thus emphasizing also the adaptive purposes values serve: shared values help individuals to fit in the social context in which they find themselves (see e.g. Schönplflug, 2001). Much of this socialization process takes place before the start of formal education, including transmission of language, as well as many basic assumptions about culture, including to some extent also values (cf. Boehnke, 2001; Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005; Rokeach 1973), which might even contribute to why values can also be seen as truisms (Maio & Olson, 1998). Therefore one of the answers to the questions concerning the bonds between rulers and those they rule, can be found in the shared values expressed in the culture in question.

Shared values can thus be conceived to be the overarching glue applicable to democratically elected presidents, sovereigns, and other leaders, as well as to the people they lead. An interesting addendum to this is also provided by the finding that democracy tends to increase value pluralism (cf. Schwartz & Sagie, 2000), and at the same time the consensus of which of the values are to be pursued decreases. Whose values then should be pursued?

In addition to values, also such important aspects of culture as national identity (Barrett, 2007), individualism and collectivism (Schönplflug & Yan, 2013), place

³ However, see Schwartz (2013) for a view challenging this assumption of shared values as the core of a culture.

identity (Rico & Jennigs, 2012), socio-economic status (in general⁴, see Carvalho, 2012; in the context of Finland, see Häkkinen & Peltola, 2005; Lucas & Pekkala Kerr, 2013; Sirniö et al, 2013), and civic involvement (Matthews, & Howell, 2006) are transmitted early on. On a more individual level, also general models of life patterns and experiences are transmitted in childhood, e.g. concepts and memories of traumas (Prager, 2003).

Values are therefore a linking point between individuals and the groups they are part of, and thus their internalization is vital to the socialization process. Lord and Brown (2001) link this also to leadership, as values that have been internalized through the socialization process also contribute to the need of social control being lessened, as individuals are able to align their behavior with those of the other group members.

Who or what then influences the larger social mechanisms behind socialization and e.g. education? It would seem that the ones, who have the right to speak into these institutions or to their “gatekeepers”, who are the policy makers as it were, are the ones who actually influence them.

Schuh (2006) notes that the ruler or leader (in her studies it is the President of the United States) acts as an institutional gatekeeper, and therefore whatever values are incorporated in the public speeches become, as it were, the official endorsement of the institution’s values, also affecting the entire institution and its practices. These values are manifested through rituals and ceremonies, such as recurring speeches. Schuh, speaking of organizations within a culture, states that *“espoused values congruent with the surrounding culture enhance organizational reputation and strengthen external legitimacy. Violation of values results in loss of credibility and relationship engagement by those who deal with the organization.”* (p. 51). This is also a valid consideration for institutional leadership as well as of political rulership in general.

The question is, how prototypical does a leader need to be? How different can she or he be, before getting rejected? Surely the most surprising finding of the voters choosing a member of parliament comes from the Italian elections of 2006 in which the perceived dishonesty of a candidate did not act as a deterrent for him/her to be voted for (Garzia, 2010). When dishonesty is perceived to be a characteristic also of the voter her/himself, it will enhance the chances of the candidate to be voted for, as then the voted person is perceived to be “one of us”.

This naturally poses new questions for the tactics of presidential candidates, and incumbent presidents as well. Should the president be what we would like to be, or should the president be like we perceive ourselves to be⁵? Here values might be part of the answer: the assumed value similarity is important, because also in everyday life the evaluative component of values means that people make assumptions, evaluations and decisions based on them. Inferring from the findings of Caprara (2007), and Garzia (2011)⁶ it seems obvious that people do not use many sets of values to evaluate people, i.e. leaders, candidates and presidents are

⁴ see also e.g. unemployment, Ahn & Ugidos, 1996

⁵ Cf. Sullivan et al., 1990.

⁶ See also Rahn et al. (1990), and Sullivan et al. (1990).

evaluated the same way ordinary people and events are evaluated, “...because relying on the personality of a candidate [...] allows individuals to apply inferential strategies that are constantly employed in everyday life.” (Garzia, 2011, p. 701).

Condensing the abovementioned considerations, one essential question is what values the rulers and leaders uphold. The direct assessment of their personal value endorsements (e.g. through surveys or interviews) is often not possible. Also inferring values from overt behavior is not simple or straight-forward, as the link between values and behavior can be thought to be influenced by e.g. norms (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003), identity (Lord and Brown, 2001), abstract thinking (Torelli & Kaikati, 2009), and culture (Roccas & Sagiv, 2010). However, the analysis of archival data⁷, e.g. public speeches, offers a way to unobtrusively assess leaders and their values.

How much of privately held values of the leaders can then be inferred from their public speeches? For example, to study operational code of presidents Renshon (2008, 2009) compared public and private speeches, and found remarkable similarities, which seemingly suggest that notwithstanding the fact that public speeches have other functions too, and that they often have been written by speechwriters rather than by the leader himself, they still seem to correspond accurately enough with what is held in private.

It is the negotiation of these questions that this research seeks to answer in the context of the 200 year period 1809-2000. During this era, a massive change in culture took place, as well as in political thought and systems, not only in Finland, but elsewhere as well. Due to Finland’s geopolitical position, it provides an excellent laboratory example of a small rural, backward peripheral country which then becomes one of the forefront western democracies in terms of democratic practices, citizen’s welfare and living standards.

The following chapters will first take a look at the theoretical considerations behind the present study (chapter 2), then give a description of the background conditions which fuelled the present study by depicting in detail the context of social and political life in Finland 1809-2000 (chapter 3). The data, i.e. the public speeches will be presented in chapter 4, leading to the formulation of research questions and hypotheses in chapter 5. The methods will be the subject of chapter 6. The results will then be presented linking them to the context in chapter 7. The discussion (chapter 8) takes up the interplay of theory, context and results, looks at the limitations of the present study, and presents some suggestions for the future.

⁷ There are various methods, cf. Marchand, 2007; Reicher & Hopkins, 1998

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The starting point for the theoretical background of this research is the perception of rulers as members of a shared community (Haslam et al. 2011). Therefore this theoretical section will first briefly present Social Identity Theory (SIT)⁸ in relation to leadership, followed by a more thorough presentation of the theory of values. The social theory of leadership guides the interpretation of the role and relevance of values to rulership.

A social psychological understanding of leadership and of values naturally means that the question of context is of paramount importance. Therefore the temporal context will be presented in a chapter of its own, while the present chapter focuses on the abovementioned theoretical considerations.

As was noted in the introduction, culture is invisible and can only be observed through its manifestations. Values as such are also invisible, and therefore they too need to be expressed in order to be observable.

2.1 WHY RULERS' VALUES MATTER

Beetham (1991) argues in his seminal book that the need for legitimacy arises from the moral uneasiness of the disparity of power between the dominant and their subordinates; so that in some way the mere disparity calls for legitimation efforts in order to, as it were, appease the sense of injustice embedded in the disparity of power.⁹¹⁰ Beetham also posits three criteria for legitimacy (p. 20): a) conformity to rules (legal validity), b) justifiability of rules in terms of shared beliefs and c) legitimation deriving from the expressed consent of those qualified to give it.

He also distinguishes between the corresponding modes of non-legitimate power: a) illegitimacy as a breach of rules, b) legitimacy deficit when there is a discrepancy between rules and supporting beliefs, or there is an absence of shared beliefs; and c) delegitimation, stemming from the withdrawal of consent.

However, at the basis of his concepts lies an understanding of a contrast between the dominant and the subordinates, the “haves” and the “have-nots”. In terms of rulers, this would mean that there would need to be an ongoing attempt on their part to either mask their power, or to resort to ways in which this disparity becomes less of an issue, while at the same time trying to uphold unifying patterns. In the words of Beetham (1991, p.59), “*Legitimacy requires the demonstration of*

⁸ See Tajfel & Turner, 1979. For a further elaboration of SIT which is important for the present study, the Self-Categorization theory, see Turner et al., 1987.

⁹ For a theoretical discussion of power in social context, see e.g. Avellino & Rotmans (2012)

¹⁰ Which, however becomes problematic in the context of democracies, where the underlying assumption is that power belongs to all people, who then elect the representatives to carry that power (see e.g. Suomen Perustuslaki [The Constitution of Finland], 1999)

a common interest which unites, as well as a principle of differentiation which divides the dominant from the subordinates”.

A totally different view is taken by the proponents of SIT, notably by Turner in 2005¹¹, and Haslam, Reicher and Platow (2011), who argue that leadership, and therefore power and legitimacy, happen within the society/community/group which itself allocates power and the leadership position¹². Therefore pre-eminence of the leader isn't a characteristic of the individual alone. In order to understand leadership, also the social context, the social groups and their identity, need to be taken into account (Hogg, 2001).

In their book of 2011, Haslam, Reicher and Platow present what they call the new psychology of leadership. Its main thrust is to present leadership as a function of the group rather than an achievement of the individual, so that the shared social identity forms the basis for leadership.

Therefore the various aspects of the 'sharedness' influence both the effectiveness and the success of the leader in question, which in turn impacts the evaluation of the leader the in-group members engage in. Haslam and his colleagues also stress the role of continuous feedback, so that the images of leadership, and even the influence leaders and followers have on each other and on their social context, are not static, but are in motion and malleable, making real agency possible.

The following outlines briefly the four main points made by Haslam et al. (2011) concerning the relationship between leadership and its constituency. Firstly, a leader becomes, in their words, “*an in-group prototype, one of us*” (see pp.44-108 for the developing of the argument), a carrier of the characteristics that most embodies the characteristics separating the in-group from the out-group. Therefore the leaders then also become examples of the “normalcy” of the group they represent, defining who is prototypical and who is not. Furthermore, also Hogg et al. (2012) argue that “*prototypical in-group members are often perceived as the most reliable source for normative information*” (p.263), hence paving way for the input and influence a prototypical leader can and will have on the group¹³.

Secondly, the leader must act in favor of the group's interests, instead of favoring just his/her own self-interests, “*doing it for us*”, as Haslam et al. term it (p. 109). This entails that the fairness¹⁴ of the leader's actions will be evaluated in the light of whether his/her actions actually favor and further what the constituency thinks are in their best interest, their norms and values (p.133). Therefore the leaders will need to be perceived acting differently towards the in-group than the out-group. Hence leaders also signal who the out-group is by their actions; in the case of this study, it is mainly through their speeches that boundaries are marked: the speeches are directed towards the members of the in-

¹¹ See also Hogg, 2001; Hogg & van Knippenberg, D., 2003; Hogg et al. 2012

¹² See also Portman & Vainio, 2012

¹³ See also French & Raven, 1959; Tyler, 2006

¹⁴ See also Hogg et al., 2012

group rather than the out-group. According to Haslam et al. fairness of treatment¹⁵ is also one of the markers used to delineate the boundaries of “us” and “them”.

Thirdly, leaders are involved in the shaping of the identity of the group. Haslam et al. call this being “*entrepreneurs of identity*” (p. 143). This means that not only do leaders position themselves to be the prototypes of the group, but that they actually actively define what the group is about, along defining its identity. They do so by reflecting the norms¹⁶, values, and priorities of the group in what they (the leaders) propose and want to do. Thus the leaders also come to define what it means to be a member of that particular group: it is to uphold the particular values, norms and priorities important for this particular group making them different from other groups (be it a nation, a religion, or a smaller unit). By creating a sense of shared identity, leaders are also able to harness the group as a whole to the pursuit of the goals the group has by unifying those inside the boundaries into one whole. This identity crafting has also a future component in it, as the leaders are able to speak of the future of the group as well, “*who we might become*”.¹⁷

Fourthly, Haslam et al. talk about leaders “*making us matter*” (pp. 165-195), meaning that the leaders need to take the group’s values, norms and aspirations, and actively create a reality in which these can be lived out. The vision must be made into a concrete reality. Hence there need to be concrete activities that make visible the shared social identity, and the leader will need to be actively enmeshed in making them visible, i.e. actively constructing the social reality and context in which the social identity is lived out. In case of nations, this includes among other things the rituals, ceremonies, and symbols established to embody the existence of the nation, be they parades, speeches, edifices or other artifacts (see e.g. Syrjämaa, 2003).

To sum this up, leaders as the institutional gatekeepers (Schuh, 2006) do not operate in isolation, and therefore their values can be studied as more than merely an expression of their personal preferences. Rather, they can be a keyhole through which observe an entire culture or era; and to do so, studying leaders’ speeches¹⁸ and the values in them can form a logical starting place, combined with adequate contextual information¹⁹. In the next section I will present the value theory used in this research, whereas the socio-political context, together with leader specific information, will be delineated in the following chapter.

¹⁵ Also a key component in legitimacy, see e.g. Tyler, 2006

¹⁶ Including also the symbolic representations of the group, e.g. clothing (see Haslam et al., p. 138-140, 152)

¹⁷ Incidentally even the Finnish national anthem (penned in 1846 by Runeberg) speaks of the nation’s future blossoming as being the product of the joint effort of the love of those whose land this is.

¹⁸ see e.g. Reicher & Hopkins, 1996; Suedfeld & Brcic, 2011;

¹⁹ see e.g. Boer & Fisher, 2013 for the importance of context for value research

2.2 SCHWARTZ VALUE THEORY (SVT)

Culture is manifest in everyday practices, symbols and rituals that can be seen by an outside observer. But the meaning of these manifestations remains unclear until the observer comes to understand how the members of a group evaluate them. These evaluations are expressed in basic values—what people believe is good or bad, what they think should and should not be done, what they hold to be desirable or undesirable. Schwartz & Bardi, 1997, p.386

2.2.1 VALUES IN GENERAL

Whilst there has been a considerable variation in the usage of the terms in both scientific literature and even more so in the popular usage of the term, there seems to be a broad agreement that the essence of the term ‘value’ has to do with desirability, appraisal and evaluation, be the word taken as a process (value as a verb) or as a state (value as a noun). Values answer the question ‘what is important, desirable, of worth?’²⁰

The objects of the evaluation (whether people, actions, events or policies), are seen through the lens values provide. Therefore values are not inherently residing in the object of the evaluation, but can be seen as the “property” or something like a characteristic of the evaluator²¹ (also typifying the person). This has also led to a wealth of research into the relationship between values, personality, and traits.²²

Rokeach (1973), and others after him, also held the view that values are an enduring cognitive component of culture, forming something like a core around which other less enduring aspects are layered (for a similar view, see also Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede & Hofstede 2005; Inglehart, 1997; Schwartz 1999, 2006). The stability of values entails that studying any value changes needs a longitudinal approach, allowing for a long enough time frame (see also Putnam, 1993; Schwartz, 2006). Value change on a cultural level does happen, but slowly, and as a result of both external (e.g. epidemics, famine, wars, economic change,) and/or internal (e.g. political structural and power related changes) events. Value change has also been related to technological advances and to contact with other cultures, e.g. globalization affects also national cultures (Schwartz, 2006). Economic, political and societal upheaval can also bring about value change (Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Rokeach, 1973)²³.

Many researchers have proposed a set of value dimensions (e.g. Hofstede, 1980; Inglehart, 1997; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961; Schwartz, 1992). Up to date there seems to be impressive data confirming²⁴ the original hypotheses put forth by Schwartz Value Theory (SVT). This includes the universality of values, which,

²⁰ For a more thorough discussion, see Rohan, 2000

²¹ Values also have neurological aspects, see Brosch et al. 2012, and a proposed genetic component, see Schermer et al. 2011

²² See Bilsky & Schwartz, 1994; Roccas et al., 2002, and Vecchione et al., 2011 .

²³ See also Danis et al. 2011.

²⁴ See e.g. Vauclair et al., 2011.

according to Schwartz's reasoning, are based on the general aspects of the human condition as basis from which the universality of values can be assumed. According to Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, 1990; Schwartz 1992), all humans everywhere and at any given time, have in common the basic biological needs of the individual, the requisites of coordinated social interaction and the survival and welfare needs of groups. Values can then be seen as the cognitive representation of these requirements.

In addition to them being a cognitive construct, they also need an expression making it possible to coordinate actions in achieving the goals values point to. Therefore values also have a linguistic representation so that it is possible to communicate about specific values with specific words.

Rokeach (1973), who also advocated the universality of values, proposed in addition a distinction between desirable modes of conduct and the end states toward which these modes of conduct were leading. Developing the theory from what Rokeach had posited, based on theory-led empirical data, Schwartz (1992) demonstrated that the cross-culturally stable categories were fewer, and that the distinction between end states and modes of conduct was not a necessary one. He used as his method a questionnaire called Schwartz Value Survey (SVS), which has subsequently been used by many researchers globally, together with the later developed Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ, see Schwartz, 2006b) .

According to Schwartz' and Bilsky's (1987, 1990; Schwartz, 1992, 2012) review of the research literature²⁵, values share the following features:

- 1) Values are beliefs, linked to affect,
- 2) Values are a motivational construct, as they point to desirable goals,
- 3) Values are trans-situational, i.e. they are abstract (called ideals by Schwartz, 2007a), thereby being a more abstract construct than context or situation specific attitudes or norms.
- 4) Values function as standards or criteria as they guide both selection and evaluation of people, events and behavior. In most situations this does not take place on a conscious level, except for when these values are somehow contrasted.
- 5) Values are ordered by importance, i.e. hierarchically, expressing value priorities held by individuals or cultures²⁶,
- 6) The relative importance of values guides action, so that the trade-offs among competing values influence actions (Schwartz, 2006). Values influence action when they are relevant in the context (hence likely to be activated) and important to the actor (Schwartz, 2012).

Schwartz Value Theory (SVT) also conceptually explains the conflicts and congruencies among the values, and the integrated structure formed by these conflicts and congruencies. The structure posited by the SVT has been validated by numerous studies²⁷ (but see Strack & Dobewall, 2012). Since the development of a

²⁵ For an evaluation of the existing literature, see also Tsirogianni & Gaskell, 2012.

²⁶ Schwartz (2007a) also points out that this too separates them conceptually from norms or attitudes.

²⁷ See e.g. Steinmetz et al. (2012) for a meta-analysis of structure.

simpler measuring instrument, the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ), the validity was extended also to (Schwartz & al., 2001)²⁸ sub-Saharan Africa.

Based on the SVT the definition of values used for the present study is the following: *Values are desirable trans-situational goals varying in importance²⁹ that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity. Values are the socially desirable concepts used to represent these goals mentally and the vocabulary used to express them in social interaction* (Schwartz, 1994, p.21; Schwartz, 2012, p. 4).

2.2.2 SCHWARTZ VALUE THEORY OF BASIC HUMAN VALUES

Schwartz Value Theory (SVT) postulates 10 motivationally different values. The universal basic values have been labeled as Universalism, Benevolence, Tradition, Conformity, Security, Power, Achievement, Hedonism, Stimulation and Self-Direction. From the aforementioned universal human conditions then stem the basic tensions expressed in the two continuums of SVT, namely *self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence* and *openness to change vs. conservation*.

The ten value categories are organized along these two dimensions forming a motivational continuum shown in Figure 1. Based on their motivational differences, values form a circular structure that results from the conflicts and congruities among all the values. The closer motivationally any given values are, the closer they are also on the circumplex (adjacent values showing a positive relation), and, conversely, the further their motivational core is, the further they are from one another, so that opposing values are situated on opposing sides of the continuum.

The values of Self-Enhancement (Power, Achievement) focus on the pursuit of personal relative success and control over others, i.e. on interests benefitting the individual even at the expense of others, whereas Self-Transcendence values (Benevolence, Universalism) underline the importance of the welfare and interests of others above the interests of the self. The second dimension juxtaposes Openness-to-Change values with Conservation values. The values emphasizing Openness-to-Change (Self-Direction, Stimulation) by definition are values majoring on the independence of thought and action, and on the seeking of novelty; whereas Conservation (Tradition, Conformity, Security) values emphasize the preference for order, protection of existing relationships be they with significant others, institutions or customs, thereby seeking to maintain the status quo. The tenth value category, Hedonism, finds its place between the poles of Openness to Change and Self-Enhancement.

²⁸ Recently also to children, using a pictorial form of the questionnaire, see Döring et al., 2010.

²⁹ This variation can be time-related, culture related, or context-related. Also, some values (e.g. security) become more important when there is a lack thereof (see Verkasalo et al., 2006)

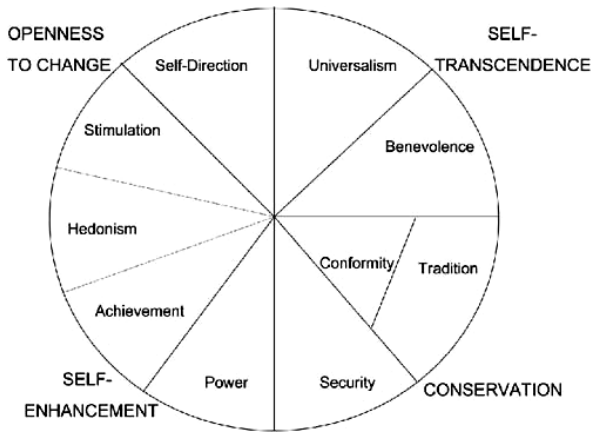


Figure 1 Motivational continuum of values

In order to avoid the implicit preference expressed by the labeling of these continuums, Rohan (2000) calls these dimensions “Focus on Social Context Outcomes vs. Focus on Individual Outcomes” and “Focus on Opportunity vs. Focus on Organization”. In this study I have followed labels provided by Schwartz.

In addition to the bi-dimensional structure, later additions (e.g. Schwartz 1994, 2006) also postulate a third continuum, individuality vs. collectivism (see also Fontaine et al. 2008), used mainly to distinguish cultures and societies from each other. Somewhat similarly to Rohan’s (2000) proposal, values which regulate the expression of personal characteristics and interests, are called person-focused (Self-Direction, Stimulation, Hedonism, Power, Achievement), whereas the values regulating relations with others and effects on them are called social-focused (Benevolence, Universalism, Tradition, Conformity, Security).

Bilsky and Schwartz (1994) related values to needs³⁰, and, following Maslow (1954), they proposed that the ten value types can also be classified according to whether they represent growth versus deficiency needs. Growth needs mean that the more one value has been realized, the more it is valued, whereas deficiency needs mean that the less the goal the value denotes has been attained, the stronger the value is emphasized. Growth values are e.g. Self-Direction, Universalism, Benevolence, Achievement, and Stimulation. Security and Power values are deficiency values, meaning that their importance grows when there is a perceived lack of e.g. wealth (Power) or health (Security).³¹

Table 1 explains the content of the motivational goal of each value type in greater detail, and gives examples of the single value items representing each type.

³⁰ See also Calogero et al, (2009)

³¹ This is also taken up by Schwartz 2011a as a direction for future studies: where do Conformity, Tradition and Hedonism need to be placed interms of growth vs. defense(or deficiency)?

Table 1. *Definitions of value types in terms of their goals and the single values that represent them*

Type	Definition of goal	Value item(s)
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources	Social power, authority, wealth, preserving public image, social recognition
Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards	Successful, capable, ambitious, influential, intelligent, self-respect
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself	Pleasure, enjoying life, self-indulgence
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life	Daring, a varied life, an exciting life
Self-Direction	Independent thought and action	Creativity, freedom, independent, curious, choosing own goals
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection of the welfare of all people and nature	Broadminded, wisdom, social justice, equality, a world at peace, a world of beauty, unity with nature, inner harmony
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact	Helpful, honest, loyal, forgiving, responsible, trustworthy, true friendship
Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms	Self-disciplined, obedient, politeness, honoring parents and elders
Tradition	Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self	Accepting one's portion in life, humble, devout, moderate, respect for tradition
Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, relationships, and self	Family security, national security, social order, clean, reciprocation of favors, sense of belonging

Values therefore differ from one another by the motivational goal they express. There is a link between motivational goals (and hence values) and behavior.³² Values are linked to many different behaviors e.g. political choices (Caprara et al., 2006), voting (Helkama et al. 1991; Schwartz et al., 2010), political orientation (Purkayastha et al. 2011), religiosity (Saroglou et al., 2004; Roccas, 2005; Schwartz & Huismans, 1995), life satisfaction (Sortheix & Lönnqvist, in press), perception of

³² See e.g. Bardi & Schwartz (2003), and Maio et al. (2009).

justice (Fisher & Smith, 2006), empathy (Helkama, 2004), monetary rewards (Brosch et al., 2011), and even to intentions to perform terrorist acts (Suedfeld & Brcic, 2011).

The hierarchical aspect of cultures was explored by Schwartz & Bardi (2001), which resulted in a pan-cultural value hierarchy. The following table is adapted from their results (p.275).

Table 2. *Pan-cultural values according to Schwartz & Bardi (2001)*

Ranking	Value type
1	Benevolence
2.5	Self-direction
2.5	Universalism
4	Security
5	Conformity
6	Achievement
7	Hedonism
8	Stimulation
9	Tradition
10	Power

They note that in addition to Self-Direction and Universalism being tied for the second most important value, also the difference between Achievement and Hedonism was very small.

One of the requisites of pursuing these motivational goals on a societal level is the use of cognitive symbols (the foremost, but by no means the only one of which is language). The usage of cognitive symbols as a way to pursue these goals together with others stems from the fact that there is a level of cooperation which is necessary between humans for the attainment of goals.

In order to coordinate with others the pursuit of the goals that are important to them, groups and individuals represent these requirements cognitively (linguistically) as specific values about which they communicate.

Schwartz, 2007, p. 1

For the purposes of the present study, this aspect of articulated values is at the forefront, as it allows for the study of values as expressed in linguistic form, i.e. in the rulers' public speeches.

The lexical value studies (e.g. Bardi, 2008; Helkama & Seppälä, 2006, Suedfeld & Weizbeck, 2004; Suedfeld et al. 2010, 2011) have all used as their basis the assumption that the linguistic representation of values even in natural speech (newspapers, interviews and diaries, respectively) can be used as a basis for

assessing expressed values³³. However, in these studies the value structure thus formed has not been reported.

2.2.3 PERSONAL VS. CULTURAL VALUES

There has been an on-going discussion of the overlapping of personal values with cultural values (e.g. Fisher, 2006; Fisher et al., 2010; Ng, 2007, Fisher & Schwartz, 2011). Participation in the debate of the measure of isomorphism between the two remains outside of the scope of the present study. I have chosen to use the Schwartz (1992) theory of basic human personal values rather than the later developed theory of cultural values (Schwartz, 2006), mainly because the nature of my source material (speeches held by individuals), seemed to warrant a more specific analysis, rather than the rather even broader strokes presented by the cultural theory proposed by Schwartz in 2006. Furthermore, there are additional reasons for choosing the personal value theory as the main theoretical background. Firstly, the cultural theory itself would have been problematic, as the data is from the same cultural unit, Finland, and as comparison between cultures is outside of the present study (cultures understood as societies occupying differing geographical spaces). Secondly, the previous studies using lexical sources (e.g. Bardi, 2008; Helkama & Seppälä, 2006; Hoffman & Slater, 2007; Suedfeld et al. 2010) also based their analysis on the personal values, rather than the cultural ones.

In examining the structural equivalence of values in different cultures, Fontaine et al. (2008) found that while SVT does indeed give a generally fitting representation of value structure, it nevertheless did fit better samples from Western countries rather than non-Western countries.³⁴ They also argue that where there is greater individual autonomy (i.e. in more developed countries), and where individual ideas and preferences are encouraged, there are fewer constraints posed by norms and customs, which then leads to the necessity to make choices more in line with individual value assessment, which in turn should lead into “*developing articulated value systems with clear congruities*”³⁵ (p.355), thus producing the expected structure the SVT warrants.

2.3 IN ADDITION TO SVT: WORK-RELATED VALUES AND SPIRITUALITY

In the present study values not present in the SVT were also included. As Aavik and Allik (2002, 2006; and Aavik, 2006) note³⁶, although the SVT captures most

³³ See also Bilsky & Schwartz (2008). In a study on motivations and their measurement they report using content analysis of reported memories.

³⁴ see also Bilsky et al. (2011), and Strack & Dobewall (2012)

³⁵ italics added by the present author

³⁶ see also De Raad & Van Oudenhoven (2008) for Dutch lexical studies, and Renner (2003) for German similar studies.

basic human values, there are still particular values in each culture, which find a cognitive (and subsequent linguistic) specific expression, but which do not necessarily have a universal applicability. Somewhat similarly e.g. Wach and Hammer (2003a, 2003b) also propose a new value category, “Truth” placing it between Self-Direction and Universalism.

The following two values have been found in previous Finnish studies, which will be introduced with the respective values, namely Work-related values and Spirituality (see below). The assessment whether or not these values would warrant being included in the list of universal values is outside the scope of the present study; however, for the purposes of the present research they were included. A third value, Education was added for the purposes of this study. To my knowledge, it has not been studied in previous research as a separate value category.³⁷

The following table presents the definitions as well as the singular value items connected to each value type.

Table 3. *Non-SVT value definitions*

Non-SVT value type	Definition of goal	Value item(s)
Work-related values	Proactive excellence and mastery; inhibitive self – discipline	Hard working, punctual, conscientious, orderly, long-term planning, frugal, industrious, persistent, persevering, prudent
Spirituality and inner life	Importance of spiritual and inner life as opposed to outer and material life	Spiritual and inner life, meaning and purpose of life, separation from worldly cares and concerns , keeping faith
Education	Pursuit of culture and learning	Education, intellectual life (thoughts, intellectual and cultural pursuits), pursuit of knowledge, acquiring skills

³⁷ The future directions of research on education as a value will be discussed in chapter 8

2.3.1 WORK-RELATED VALUES

*Arvon mekin ansaitsemme
Suomen maassa suuressa,
vaikk'ei riennä riemuksemme
leipä miesten maatessa;
laiho kasvaa kyntäjälle,
onni työnsä täyttäjälle.*

(We too deserve dignity
in the great land of Finland
even though we will not have the pleasure of having bread
as long as the men are idle;
Harvest grows for those who plow,
and happiness to those who complete their work)³⁸

In the SVT only one item, Achievement, includes a mention of work, under the value item 'ambitious' a synonym for that is given as 'hard working', following Rokeach (1973).

However, work as a thing in itself doesn't seem to have a necessary logical link only to ambition, and on an empirical level this item has produced disagreement among the participants of surveys as to the connection between work as such and ambition (see Helkama, 2009).

Work-related values have been found in Finnish empirical studies (e.g. Helkama & Seppälä, 2006; Myrsky & Helkama, 2001), and seem to form a homogenous type of value (Myrsky & Helkama, 2001; see also Helkama et al., 2012).³⁹ Work-related values might also be called Protestant Ethic values, if not for the religious⁴⁰ connotation introduced by Weber (1958). There is a vast Protestant Work Ethic (PWE) literature, which however for the most part does not address the question of work's intrinsic value⁴¹. However, Hoorn & Maseland, (2013) comment that "*Protestantism may have been the cause of a change in values in the direction of a more intrinsic appreciation of work.*" (p. 10). Further elaboration of PWE remains outside the scope of the present study.

Motivationally Work-related values capture some of the long-term planning of Hofstede & Hofstede's (2005) cultural value dimensions, and should thus be placed in the Conservation quadrant of the values circumplex, but Myrsky & Helkama (2001) found that Work-related values were placed between Achievement and Power values. In Helkama (2009) the conclusion is drawn that the aforementioned is due to the dual nature of Work-related values: they serve proactive excellence and mastery motivations as well as inhibitive self-discipline motivations (cf. Helkama & Seppälä, 2006; Hirvelä & Helkama, 2011). Work has

³⁸ Folk song based on the poem by Jaakko Juteini, 1816, translation by the present author

³⁹ When measured together with other SVT values they found α to be .65-.79 when measured with the SVS, and .40-.75 when measured with the PVQ.

⁴⁰ Which is unavoidable, as it was part of Weber's original argument.

⁴¹ However, see e.g. Mudrack & Mason (2010)

always been of great importance in the Finnish context⁴², and a basis for social approval and upward mobility, encoded even in songs and folk tales, as the quote at the beginning of this section attests.

Albeit the Weberian concept of Protestant Ethic stems more from a Calvinist perception of life and society than a Lutheran one, still the Lutheran emphasis on the sanctity of everyday life meant that a thoroughly Protestant society such as Finland had for centuries ingrained in its population the combination of work being not only a means for survival, but also a religious duty (akin to Weber's (1958) idea of work as a calling), linking it firmly to the maintenance of the social status quo.

2.3.2 SPIRITUALITY

It can be estimated that about 84% (circa 5.67 billion) of the world's population profess some religious faith.⁴³ It therefore seems logical that some of the general human motivations can be traced back to spirituality. Schwartz (1992) excluded from his model spiritual values⁴⁴, stating that he had not found them to be cross-culturally stable. Schwartz and Huismans (1995) found that religiosity correlated most with Tradition, as religion is so closely linked with the upholding of the known social order and with uncertainty reduction. Therefore some of the single items were incorporated into Tradition – hence along the Conservation continuum - (e.g. “devout”, “respect for tradition”) and later on (Schwartz, 2005) some single value items found their place under Benevolence (“meaning in life”, “spiritual life”).

In their meta-analysis Saroglou et al. (2004) report that religiousness had strong correlations with the value dimension of Openness-to-Change vs. Conservation (negatively with the former and positively with the latter); but that this did not hold for the other dimension of Self-Transcendence vs. Self-Enhancement. This pattern however was not universal, for in more economically advanced countries religiosity correlated less strongly with Conservation values and Self-Direction (an Openness-to-change value), but did correlate strongly (negatively) with Power (Self-Enhancement value) and positively with Benevolence (a Self-Transcendence value).

In the Finnish context some Finnish studies (Jaari, 2004; Verkasalo, 1996; Verkasalo et al. 1994), placed Spirituality among Self-Transcendence values, namely between Universalism and Benevolence.

Due to the particular characteristic of the Finnish language, the term ‘spirituality’ covers a semantic field expressed in Finnish by two separate words (“henkisyys” and “hengellisyys”), roughly translatable as “mental or inner life” and “spirituality in the religious sense”, respectively. Therefore the definition of this

⁴² This is naturally linked to the agrarian way of life characterizing Finland, which by definition requires constant work from all the members of society, see the following chapter for a more indepth depiction of the Finnish context

⁴³ Population estimate: UNDESA; religious beliefs: adherents.com, accessed 26.9.2013

⁴⁴ For a general overview of SVT values and religiosity, see Roccas (2005); Saroglou et al. (2004).

value type consists of a larger spectrum of values than previously comprised in the term ‘religiosity/religiousness’ as such, or in the English word ‘spirituality’.

Spirituality (as a value denoting the emphasis on inner, immaterial life at the expense of outer, material life), is making inroads to the Western culture also through an emphasis on Eastern concepts of peace and meditation, and their derivatives (e.g. mindfulness). Mindfulness has in turn also be connected to psychological well-being (see e.g. Brown & Ryan, 2003), and to sustainability (see Warren & Kasser, 2005). Therefore, on a theoretical level, the promotion of inner life has more than strictly religious connotations, better captured by the Finnish term than by its English counterpart.

It would actually seem that religiosity and spirituality are not mutually exchangeable concepts (cf. Jager Meezenbroek et al., 2012; Pepper et al, 2010). Religiosity can be taken to denote the participation in religious social structures in contrast to spirituality, which is defined as a more subjective commitment or attitude towards spiritual or religious beliefs (McIntosh et al., 2011).

According to this definition, religiosity would indeed be similar to Tradition values in the SVT, where the emphasis is on the exterior behavior and its social links⁴⁵, whereas spirituality as a conviction is better captured by a distinct value called ‘Spirituality’, underlining its subjective nature. Saroglou & Muñoz-García, (2008) maintain that spirituality and religion both share a pro-social emphasis, but that spirituality doesn’t entail the emphasis on Conservation vs. Openness-to-Change values that seem to characterize religiosity (see e.g. Saroglou et al. 2004).

This distinction also allows for the break with the (individual’s) inherited religious external traditions without implying a negation of spiritual beliefs on an individual level. On a societal level secularization is thought to take place as an effect of modernization⁴⁶ and industrialization (Norris & Inglehart, 2004), signifying that as societies become more modern, they also move further away from religious values and religious institutions as central to the functioning of the society. Norris and Inglehart maintain that the basis for secularization is the increase of security in terms of what is needed for survival: as people have longer lives ahead of them, and don’t live with constant threat, their interest in religions wane. They found that this is so regardless of whether the societies were agrarian, industrial or postindustrial.

This view has been criticized on the basis that e.g. the US seems to be an anomaly with religiosity not declining; and recently similar findings from Russia also seem to suggest that secularization might be a more Western phenomena than a universal one (Evans & Northmore-Ball, 2012; see also Bruce, 2002). On the other hand, Kaufmann et al. (2012) suggest that even in Europe secularization might have been a temporary phenomenon, which is already changing towards more religiosity.

⁴⁵ e.g. political conservatism, but see Malka et al. (2012), who state this link depends on the level of political engagement.

⁴⁶ See Inglehart & Baker (2000)

It would also seem that the proposed secularization is more connected to religiosity than to spirituality (see e.g. Hirschle, 2013), and that the process itself might not be as straightforward (Kaufmann et al., 2012) as previously assumed.⁴⁷

As was stated before, by secularization is often meant the decline of Christianity in the West, but as the above-mentioned figures of adherence show, the movement hasn't been as complete or as rapid as may have been assumed. In fact, a more useful concept might be differentiation (see e.g. Martin, 2005, 2007; Sommerville, 1998), which states that the other spheres of societal life become increasingly separate from the religious one. Hence there is no unifying philosophical or religious ideology, which would have hegemony over all others. Taken as a process in Europe (and hence influencing the Western hemisphere in general) it started with Luther and his contemporaries. A second useful concept is that of privatization of religion⁴⁸, where religious language is no longer frequently present in public rhetoric, which, however, says nothing of individual spirituality, or the impact this might have on political life in general and decision making in particular⁴⁹

2.3.3 EDUCATION

Education as a value per se has not been part of SVT, but it is considered to be part of the Finnish cultural identity⁵⁰, a legacy of the Finnish 19th century statesman and philosopher J.V. Snellman (Pulma, 1987; Savolainen, 2006). The importance of education is related on the other hand also to the Protestant idea that people needed to be able to read the Bible in their own language⁵¹, and therefore need to be educated. On a more modern level, Finland's economic success has been linked to the emphasis on education, pushing Finland towards being a knowledge economy (cf. Castells & Cardoso, 2005; Sahlberg 2011), therefore also maintaining education as a thing to be desired and pursued, i.e. as a value.

In the present study, Education values were first taken to be a subset of Spirituality values, as they share the emphasis on the pursuit of immaterial, inner life rather than material life and goods, but were then later separated to a category of their own, reflecting the cultural emphasis on education in Finland.

2.4 FINNISH VALUE PRIORITIES

There is no existing research of Finnish values that would span the entire period (1809-2000) of the present research. In the past research on Finnish values⁵² has

⁴⁷ See Norris & Inglehart (2004), for a comprehensive discussion of secularization up to that time.

⁴⁸ Saroglou et al. (2004) come to fairly similar conclusions

⁴⁹ See e.g. Pepper et al. 2010

⁵⁰ Similar exploration of culturally relevant values, see Aavik & Allik 2002

⁵¹ See e.g. Mansell, 2011

⁵² Reporting on any research using e.g. Hofstede's or Inglehart's value definitions and measurements is outside the scope of the present study.

been done using both Rokeach (1973) and Schwartz (1992) measurements, and combinations of the two (see Helkama & Olakivi, 2012; Pohjanheimo, 1996, 1997, 2005; Puohiniemi, 2002, Sorthaix et al., 2012), but the starting point was in 1975⁵³, when the sc. Pyhtää-project was started, providing systematic data from a non-student sample.

The Pyhtää-project (see Helkama & Olakivi, 2012) was a social psychological study of a rural community from 1975-2007, consisting of four waves: 1975, 1982, 1993 and 2007. The municipality, Pyhtää, is in South-East Finland, ca. 120 km east of Helsinki. Values were included in the research from the beginning, but the first two rounds used Rokeach (1973) terminal and instrumental values.

The following table summarizes value priorities reported in the previous research pertaining to the time period of the present study. The table shows the value priorities from all available data. Where the authors have not given SVT values (or the Non-SVT values used in the present research), they have been added by the present author where appropriate. When the values used have no direct SVT or non-SVT counterpart, this has been indicated by (n/a). As the first two years (1975 and 1982) reported both terminal and instrumental Rokeach' values, they have been listed separately.

⁵³ The interest in value research has grown, and there have been numerous studies since, e.g. the ongoing research by Puohiniemi (1993, 1995, 2002, 2011, 2012).

Table 4. Finnish value priorities 1975-2001

Source	Pohjanheimo, 1996			Pohjanheimo, 1996			Suhonen, 1985	Puuhiniemi, 2002	Pohjanheimo 1996	Puuhiniemi, 2002	Puuhiniemi, 2002	Puuhiniemi, 2002
Data gathered	Pyhtää 1975,			Pyhtää 1982,			1984, representative sample of all Finns	1991, representative sample of all Finns	Pyhtää 1993	1995, representative sample of all Finns	1999, representative sample of all Finns	1991-2001, representative sample of all Finns
Used measurement	Rokeach terminal values	Rokeach instrumental values	Rokeach terminal values	Rokeach instrumental values	Rokeach terminal values	Rokeach instrumental values	Survey	SVS	SVS	SVS	SVS	SVS
N	100	100	194	1080	1852	188	1064	1204	8546			
1.	Security of family (SE)	Honesty (BE)	Security of family (SE)	Honesty (BE)	Peace (UN)	Peace (UN)	BE	BE	BE	BE	BE	BE
2.	World peace (UN)	Responsibility (BE)	World peace (UN)	Responsibility (BE)	Health (SE)	Health (SE)	UN	SE	SE	SE	SE	SE
3.	Inner harmony (UN)	Self-discipline (CO)	Inner harmony (UN)	Forgiveness (BE)	Independence of country (SD)	Independence of country (SD)	SE	UN	UN	UN	UN	UN
4.	Happiness (n/a)	Forgiveness (BE)	Mature love (BE)	Tenderness (BE)	Solving the hunger problem (n/a, maybe UN)	Solving the hunger problem (n/a, maybe UN)	CO	CO	CO	CO	CO	CO
5.	Pleasure (HE)	Joyfulness (n/a)	National security (SE)	Self-discipline (CO)	Preserving nature (UN)	Preserving nature (UN)	SD	SD	SD	SD	SD	SD
6.	True friendship (BE)	Politeness (CO)	Pleasure (HE)	Broadminded (UN)	Warm personal relations (BE)	Warm personal relations (BE)	HE	HE	HE	HE	HE	HE
7.	National security (SE)	Clean (SE)	True friendship (BE)	Joyfulness (n/a)	Employment for all (WO)	Employment for all (WO)	AC	AC	AC	AC	AC	AC
8.	Freedom (SD)	Independence (SD)	Happiness (n/a)	Helpful (BE)	Freedom (SD)	Freedom (SD)	ST	ST	TR	ST	ST	ST
9.	Mature love (BE)	Tenderness (BE)	Freedom (SD)	Independence (SD)	High subsistence (PO)	High subsistence (PO)	TR	TR	ST	TR	TR	TR
10.	Equality (UN)	Helpful (BE)	Self-respect (AC)	Clean (SE)	Equality (UN)	Equality (UN)	PO	PO	PO	PO	PO	PO
11.	Wisdom (UN)	Broadminded (UN)	Wisdom (UN)	Politeness (CO)	Salvation (SP)	Salvation (SP)	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP	SP
12.	Self-respect (AC)	Intelligence (SD)	Equality (UN)	Courage (n/a)	Contributing something notable (AC)	Contributing something notable (AC)	notable (AC)	notable (AC)	notable (AC)	notable (AC)	notable (AC)	notable (AC)

Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST = Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

2.5 VALUES AND RULERS: THE IMPORTANCE OF SHARED VALUES

Social stability is one of the goals of statesmanship. One way of achieving it is to seek to foster value consensus⁵⁴, as it *“increases cooperation, limiting the range of conflict, and facilitating compromise. Shared values encourage members of a society to identify with one another, to accept common goals, and to agree on how these goals should be achieved. Thus, value consensus may be as important a feature of culture as value importance”* (Schwartz, 2011a, p. 313).

Appealing to shared values signals a deeper unity between the members of society, as shared values also contribute to the generation of feelings of belonging and inclusion, or boosting the propensity members of a society have to identifying with one another (Schwartz & Sagie, 2000). Values are linked to ruling and legitimation mainly through the creation of a sense of “oughtness” by commonly shared assumptions of what is important even in political structures, how e.g. leadership should be carried out. Thus consensus is also connected to the legitimating of power⁵⁵, as in order to maintain the legitimacy of their rule, rulers will try to foster in their subjects the belief of their rule being proper, appropriate and just (Kelman & Hamilton, 1989; Tyler, 2006; Levi et al., 2009; Passini & Morselli 2010).

A close concept to value consensus is social projection, the assumption that others are similar to one when these others are part of one’s own in-group. Amit et al. (2010) found that emphasizing Conservation values (Conformity, Tradition and Security) increases social projection. Therefore it can be assumed that appealing to Conservation values also fosters a sense of “us”.⁵⁶ In case of rulership and public speeches, this assumption may mean that there is an expectation that those whom one counts as members of the “we”, will also behave and think like the speaker does. In addition, Amit et al. state that social projection is also linked to the motivation to maintain the status quo (p.943), and thus to increase predictability, which in turn also affects the world being perceived in simpler terms.

Schwartz & Sagie (2000) have found that cross-culturally value consensus was higher the higher the economic development of a country, whereas lower consensus was related to greater democracy. Their results also indicate that the importance attached to Openness-to-Change values increases with economic development, and that Conservation values and Power lose

⁵⁴ This is defined by Schwartz and Sagie (2000, p. 466) as agreement among individual members of a society concerning the importance they attribute to different types of values.

⁵⁵ See Williams, 1968

⁵⁶ National identification also correlates positively with Conservation values (Roccas et al., 2010)

importance. Democratization on the other hand affects the consensus broadening the base of values which can be held and expressed.

In addition to the functions of value consensus, expressed values have also been proposed to be a form of self-presentation (Helkama, 1999; Helkama et al., 2003), linking them to expressions of social identity. The relevance of Social Identity Theory (SIT)⁵⁷ to this study lies (among other things) in its raising to the forefront the question of in-group and out-group distinction, which is linked to a similar distinction in the SVT between Universalism values and Benevolence values (see e.g. Schwartz, 2007b).

⁵⁷ Tajfel & Turner, 1979.

3 TEMPORAL CONTEXT

History making is a combination of fact finding and producing narratives that give those facts sense.

Jonathan Potter, 1996

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE TEMPORAL CONTEXT

The basic tenet of social psychology is that situational factors play a significant role in events, often even more so than the personal aspects (be they physical, physiological or psychological) of the participant(s). Therefore it is necessary to trace the context in which the speeches were given, as well as depict the people giving them.

There seems to be a wide consensus, that there are certain aspects of human culture, which shape (or at least influence) the experience and lives of people affected by them (cf. Gelfand et al., 2011)⁵⁸. Some of these factors are related to the distribution of resources (e.g. wealth), some to institutions and polity (e.g. prevailing religions, political systems and ideologies), and some to population density.

In the following sections I will try to delineate the development Finland has undergone in the 200 years of interest. The first section deals with a general overview, followed by sections looking at economy, demography, and education. The section on economy is followed by a more detailed look at the crisis points of the period in question. These crisis points have been defined by economical criteria's. The last section differs from the others in that it looks into the personality profiles of the rulers, placing each one in his historical context.

3.2 GENERAL DEVELOPMENT 1809-2000: FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

The powers of the State in Finland are vested in the people, who are represented by the Parliament.

Constitution of Finland (11.7.1999), Chapter 1, Section 2

According to Nousiainen (1985, p. 31) the basic elements of the authority structure of the Finnish society are a strong and personal but distant authority, and a collective and impersonal bureaucracy.⁵⁹ Passive subjection to the authority of the ruler as a person completes the picture. This also

⁵⁸ See also van Herk & Poortinga, 2011.

⁵⁹ See also Simola, 2005.

explains why the transition from Swedish to Russian rule, and then to having a democratically elected President, was such a smooth one: these changes did not upset the basic structure of the way society works.

In the 18th century Sweden political power had already shifted from the absolutist monarch to the estates. Under the Czars, Finland was part of one of the leading empires of the time. The theory of rulership, albeit affected by the ideas promoted by Enlightenment, was nevertheless that a sovereign was elected by God to rule over the people under his or her care. Therefore the liberty there was for the Finnish governmental structure to develop was all the more remarkable.

From the Russian point of view, for the most part of the 19th century Finland was a very stable and peaceful corner of the Russian Empire. Everywhere else the Empire faced numerous challenges, wars and troubles, but, until the intense Russification attempts brought a near revolt in Finland culminating in the murder of Governor-General Bobrikov in 1904, Finland was a very peaceful corner of the Russian Empire (Alapuro, 1999). Not even the catastrophic years of hunger during the famine of 1866-68 had created civil unrest⁶⁰. The second wave of Russification (1908 onwards) already caused much more pronounced resistance, including the sc. Jaeger movement.

After the Diet in Porvoo in 1809, the Estates were convened the next time in 1863. In 1869 Alexander II gave a new Diet Act, which remained in vigor till the Parliament Act of 1906. This new Act made Finland the first country in Europe, where universal suffrage and eligibility (for people over 24 years of age⁶¹), was implemented. This included also women and landless people, who for the first time had full political rights⁶². This made the electorate grow tenfold, and there were 1 272 873⁶³ people who had the right to vote in 1907.⁶⁴

The Constitution of 1919 set Finland as a Republic with a flexible system containing both strong presidency and a strong parliament (Nousiainen, 2001). Albeit the development in Finland had followed the path of other European small states (see Hroch, 1996, 1997, 2010)⁶⁵, what sets Finland apart is that there was never a dictatorship, or a strong right-wing regime, contrary to the development of many other nations who had become independent after WW I.

⁶⁰ A very different reaction than the Irish had had to the famines in the 1840s, which sparked a lot of political activism against the British Empire occupying Ireland.

⁶¹ In 1944 the age was lowered to 21, in 1969 to 20, and in 1972 to 18, where it currently is.

⁶² In the parliament of 1907 there were 19 women Members of Parliament.

⁶³ according to http://www.vaalit.fi/eduskuntavaalit1907/5_1.html Accessed 22.9.2013

⁶⁴ As the Parliament constitutes of 200 elected members, in 1907 it meant that the ratio was 1 member per ca. 6400 voters. Currently the ratio is 1/22000.

⁶⁵ for general theory of nation-state formation, see Wimmer & Feinstein, 2010. For a local perspective see Alapuro (1994/2001).

During the WWII, the Finnish Parliament continued to meet, so that the members elected in 1939 faced new elections only after the war in 1945. After the war, in keeping with the ideas formulated by Sir Beveridge in UK, the creation of a Finnish welfare system was seen of paramount importance. The aim of it was to include all citizens in its scope⁶⁶, not only those unable to care for themselves. Included in the idea of rebuilding the society was that based on growth of available financial resources on a national level, funds were allocated to social security and the development of welfare. Child allowance system was approved in 1948, the National Pension Act in 1956, the Health Insurance Act in 1963, legislation concerning unemployment benefits in 1967, and the Primary Health Care Act in 1971.

The most substantial change which has taken place in terms of polity during the time period of this study happened when the new Constitution entered in vigor in March 2000. It strengthened the position and role both Parliament and the Government have at the expense of the President's role.⁶⁷ The spheres of influence and responsibility are not clear yet (cf. Tiihonen et al., 2013), nor are their implications for e.g. foreign policy clear either (Raunio, 2012).

3.3 FINLAND AS AN AUTONOMOUS GRAND DUCHY 1809-1917

Apart from the governmental structures, which were (to a degree) already in place, the country invaded by the Russian troops in the 1808-9 war was vastly different from its modern counterpart. In 1809 Finland was poor, agrarian, isolated and very sparsely populated (but see Acerbi, 1802). It had been a field of many battles, some of which lived on in popular myths and literature, even shaping political thinking for years to come, like the Great Wrath of 1713-1721, Russian ferocious invasion and occupation of Finland resulting in thousands of casualties and depopulation of large parts of the country (due to deportations, being sold into slavery and killed by epidemics). Even the War of Finland (1808-09) resulted in ca. 6% of the population being killed⁶⁸.

The first to mention the possibility of Finland being an independent state was the Russian Empress Elizabeth in 1742 as part of her anti-Sweden propaganda.⁶⁹ This idea was then let be, as Finland continued to be a part of

⁶⁶ E.g. an aid package to mothers, who have just given birth, was 1937-49 given only to those who were poor, but from 1949 onwards it was (and still is) given to all mothers.

⁶⁷ cf. Hallberg et al., 2009

⁶⁸ These wars were instrumental in fostering lasting legends of Russia being a perpetual source of danger, cruelty and threats; a recurrent theme, which especially in times of crises is given abundant rhetorical space.

⁶⁹ For the contribution of 18th century thought on Finnish national identity, see Manninen, 2000

Sweden, its “Östmark” (Eastern land), till it passed under the Russian rule. While independence as an idea was only taken up later when nationalistic projects began to gain ground in all of Europe in mid-19th century, nevertheless, historians (e.g. Jussila 1999, 2004; Kirby, 2006) tend to agree that Finland as a state was born as a consequence of the territory passing into Russian hands. Had Finland remained part of Sweden, the pressure to become a state would most likely have been much less, or non-existent (Niemi & Pernaa 2005; Jokisipilä & Niemi 2006).

It has remained a subject of much debate (e.g. Jussila, 2004; Klinge 1997; Nousiainen, 1985; Pulkkinen, 2003) what was exactly meant by Alexander I when he in Porvoo in 1809 spoke about Finland being “*placed from this time on among the rank of nations*”.⁷⁰ What was clearer, though, was that Alexander had in his Sovereign Pledge promised to maintain and uphold “*the Christian faith and the constitutions, as well as the liberties and privileges which each estate in the said Grand Duchy in particular and all the inhabitants in general, both high and low, have hitherto enjoyed according to the constitution*” (Alexander I, 27.3.1809, translation following Kirby 2006, p. 77). He also promised to ensure that these privileges, laws and duties would be maintained inviolable and in full force.

This was taken to mean that the person of the Czar was the fulcrum of the relationship Finland had with Russia, and therefore also that the union of Finland with Russia was a form of personal union, based on an agreement (cf. Zetterberg & Pulma, 1987). From the Finnish point of view this view was not really challenged by the Russians either until the beginning of the first hints of Russification, and even then the conviction that this was the Czar’s view as well only shattered in the aftermath of the February Manifesto in 1899. Even after this, the interpretation of there being a personal union between Finland and Russia with Finland having a constitution of its own as the main law of the land, was strongly promoted within Finland (e.g. by the future President Paasikivi, who in his foreword to the book⁷¹ on Finnish constitutional laws, published in 1900, argues for the continuation of the constitution being built on the existing Swedish laws and the person of the Czar).

Alexander I’s promises in 1809 ensured a state of status quo, which was much to the liking of the gentry and the clergy. The former saw in this new opportunities created by the opening of new state offices and links to the Court, and the latter were content because the Czar had promised to maintain the Lutheran confession in vigor in Finland. Especially the strategically conciliatory actions of the then Bishop of Turku, Tengström (later to become the first Archbishop of Finland in 1817) helped to secure not only the position of the Church, but also that of the university (Klinge, 2007).

⁷⁰ Alexander I, Parliament Opening Speech, 19.7.1809

⁷¹ See Suomen yleiset perustuslait, 1900.

The peasantry was not as favorable towards the Russians, and there were small scale short term revolts in various places after the 1809 transition (probably due to the collective memory of Russian atrocities and the knowledge of the existing conditions of serfs in the Russian Empire, see e.g. Kuisma, 2009), but on the whole the aftermath of the war was quite peaceful. Another factor contributing to the status quo was also the easy absorption of the Finnish elite into the Russian system, having been made the leaders of the newly created Grand Duchy. This ensured the further unification of the interests of the ruling Finnish elite and the Russian empire (Alapuro, 1999b).

Alexander I granted through his promises ample space, so that Finnish legislation and societal infrastructure continued to develop quite independently from their Russian counterparts all through the 19th century till the beginning of the strong Russification period under the rule of Nicholas II. Finland as an autonomous region was by no means an exception in the Russian Empire, where there were other autonomous regions as well (albeit for comparison with Poland, see Jalonon, 2009).

As was mentioned earlier, the smooth functioning of the existing structures in Finland was largely due to the already-existing quite large number of civil servants (mainly from the military), and to the parsonages functioning as centers for administration and local commerce. Alexander I did not change the existing general governmental structures, thus fostering a sense of continuity and maintenance of things as they had been already under the Swedish kings.

For this study, the significance of the parish as the center for distribution of information and general communal infrastructure in the 19th century cannot be overemphasized. Most imperial communications were usually labeled as “To be read from the pulpit”, as the church services served also for a general bulletin board, and a primitive form of a mass media hub.

The Christian faith mentioned in Alexander I’s pledge is its Lutheran variant (the Czar himself, and most of his other subjects, were adherents of the Eastern Orthodox faith), a fact which separated the Finns from other subjects of the Russian Empire. The fact that the ruler positioned himself as the guarantor of religion is then later echoed also in the position of Presidents as the heads of the Lutheran church in Finland, in as much as they had the right to nominate bishops, traditionally a position of authority (c.f. the Pope’s role in the Roman Catholic Church). This continued till 2000, when the new constitution and Church Code entered in vigor. It also laid the ground for the close collaboration between the Church and the State, so that political unrest was also disturbing to the Church and vice versa.

The constitutions mentioned by Alexander I were mainly the laws stipulated in Sweden in 1734, when the reform of its entire system of law took place. In addition, in these constitutions were also included the 1772, “Instrument of Government” as the Swedish constitution was called. It defined, among other things, the special privileges and rights of the four estates, ending an era of parliamentarism. The reform of 1772 was more of a

bloodless *coup d'état* enacted by the king Gustav III, and in the reform of 1789, sovereign power was even more strongly placed in the hands of the king⁷². At the same time these constitutional laws also brought in more of the division of power into three distinct spheres envisioned by Montesquieu (1748/1914) by introducing supreme courts.⁷³

After 1809 Finland and its government were under the direct control of the Czar in person. In Finland the chief instrument of government was the Government Council, renamed in 1816 the Senate. In St. Petersburg, there was the Committee for Finnish Affairs, which presented its matters directly to the Czar himself. The role of this committee was very significant, since in the absence of a Diet (1809-1863)⁷⁴ it supervised all matters pertaining to Finland. Officially the Czar was represented by the Governor-General of Finland, who usually resided in St. Petersburg, traveling regularly to Finland.

In 1812 Helsinki became the new capital of Finland, replacing the more western capital of Turku, mainly to ensure that the ties with Sweden would weaken and those with Russia would grow stronger. That same year another decision was made, which had significant future consequences: the so called Old Finland or Russian Finland⁷⁵ was governmentally merged to the rest of Finland, also putting it under Finnish legislation.

From the Czars' point of view, Finland's peace was unbroken as it did not participate in the violence of either 1830 or 1848, which swept through most of the other parts of Europe. However, on the religious front this status quo was broken by the new revivalist movements that had begun to take hold of Finland in the late 18th century, continuing to the 19th century. These movements were also quickly interpreted as a politically threatening phenomenon, as the relationship between the Crown and the Church was a very tight one. Also, the general policy had been that Finland was not to attract the Czar's attention at all, either positive or negative (Pulma, 1987b, pp.386-387). Therefore these movements were treated heavy-handedly, resulting in trials against the adherents on the basis of laws prohibiting religious gatherings in the absence of a Lutheran minister (cf. Ylikangas, 1979)⁷⁶.

⁷² This definition of the sovereign's power naturally suited the Czars, and made it easy for them to uphold those laws and charters.

⁷³ Incidentally, these constitutional laws and their amended forms were in vigor till 1919, when the newly formed Republic of Finland passed its first constitution; however, traces of these are still left in the current constitution of 2000.

⁷⁴ The Diet, which had met in 1809, was not convened again till 1863 under Alexander II.

⁷⁵ I.e. the parts that Russia had gained from Sweden in the wars in 1721 and 1743, see Zetterberg (1987), pp.386-387).

⁷⁶ These forms of persecution did not however succeed in weeding out these movements, as some of them are still active, making them among the most long-lived civic organizations in Finland. Some 11% of the population still traces their spiritual roots to these movements (Revival movements, 2012).

From a political point of view, the most remarkable of the unintended consequences of these revivalist movements, was that they strengthened the spreading of democratic ways of thinking by underlining that all people are equal under God: equally sinners, and therefore also equally objects of redemption (Pulma, 1987a), which also entailed the breaking down of the Estates-based societal thinking.

These movements emphasized personal spirituality in form of prayer, repentance and morally upright living (abstaining from alcohol, extra/premarital sex, and dishonesty), lay involvement, and a strong sense of community formed by the adherents. These features translated into the upholding of a morally conservative society combined with an emphasis of spiritual independence, as well as an egalitarian stance (preparing the way for democracy; see Pulma, 1987a). Remarkably, the spiritual experience of women was viewed as valid as that of men, thus inadvertently also preparing the way for the general suffrage of 1906. By also contributing to the general rising of the educational level of the agrarian population, these originally religious movements served as precursors of national awakening together with other civic organizations, such as labor unions (cf. Hroch, 1993, 1996; Stenius, 1977).

These widely spread revivalist movements also contributed to the strengthening of norms related to working, as they underlined even more the importance of being hard-working, punctual, conscientious, orderly and frugal, and making long-term plans; all components of the Work-related /Protestant Ethic values, and shaping the idea what a real Finn looked like (Huhta, 2007).

Alexander II's reign began during the Crimean war (1853-56). Russia was defeated in the war, and its national economy was ruined (Häkkinen, 2011). This resulted in reforms in many sectors of the Russian Empire, also affecting Finland. Alexander II modernized custom policies, started the introduction of elementary instruction, and in general, a wave of liberalism accompanied his reign.

As was already mentioned, in 1863 the Diet was finally convened by Alexander II. In 1869 the Diet was established as a regularly meeting parliament. The same year also the separation of the Church and the State took further steps, as the Church ceased to have control over education (1866), and as new units of local administration were established (1865). Language-wise this also marked a change as Finnish was declared to be of equal status with Swedish in all matters concerning the Finnish-speaking population.

In the latter half of the 19th century, the status quo slowly began to unravel as nationalistic ideas and the rising socialist movements gained more foothold. Zetterberg and Pulma (1987) suggest that together with nationalism and revivalist movements, also the liberalism that rose after 1848 became an important component in shaping the ideas of especially the elite, thus putting to the forefront the agendas of independence, social

reforms, and general political radicalism. Haila (1998) regards this period also as the starting point of the formation of tight networks between the families of the elite; networks, which maintained their importance in time, shaping much of the industrial agreements even after independence.

3.4 FINLAND AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE 1917-2000

*Oh our land, Finland, fatherland,
echo loudly, golden word!
No valley, no hill, no water, shore more dear
than this northern homeland,
this precious land of our fathers.*

*One day from your bud
you will bloom;
From our love shall rise your hope, glorious joy,
and once your song, fatherland
higher still will ring.*

Maamme [Our Land], Finnish national anthem.

Words by J.L. Runeberg 1846, translation unknown

In the aftermath of the First World War and the Russian Revolution, in December 1917 Finland's Parliament issued a declaration of independence. The new Soviet government was the first to recognize the new fledgling state⁷⁷. A pro-German government in line with a greatly diminished parliament wanted a Hessian prince to be the king of the Finnish state, but as Germany lost the war, this plan was abandoned. Instead in July, 1919 the new constitution came into force, making Finland a semi-presidential republic (Nousiainen, 2001).

The declaration of independence was followed by a violent civil war (or liberation war, as it has also been called), to which the collapse of Russia naturally contributed to (for a discussion of the geographical effects of state collapse, see Iqbal and Starr, 2008). Between February-May, 36943 people died (War Victims of Finland 1914-1922). There is a vast literature describing what happened, and the debate over the interpretation of the events is still continuing (cf. Häkkinen, 2008; Jutikkala, 2007; Korpisaari, 2009; Tikka, 2006). It is outside the scope of the present study to enter more fully into these debates, but for a comparison with other civil wars, see Hanski (2007), and Casanova (2000)⁷⁸.

⁷⁷ The British for instance waited till WW I was over; for motives see Gerrard, 2000.

⁷⁸ For a general discussion on civil wars, see Sambanis, 2004; Lockyer 2010, and the Journal of Conflict Resolution (2002) issue on civil war, 46 (1), which was dedicated to civil war.

There is also a growing body of research on the long term effects of civil wars, e.g. on civil casualties and national health issues (Ghobarah, Huth & Russett 2003, 2004); on war-traumas (Kienzler, 2008); on detrimental effects on the economy (Collier & Sambanis, 2002), the further elaboration of which remains outside the scope of the present study.

The war froze the already existing fault lines between the so called Whites (the winners of the war, representing the bourgeoisie, political pro-German right wing) and the Reds (workers, leftist political inclinations and leaning on Russian help⁷⁹). However, as Kissane and Sitter (2005) point out, the negotiation of the aftermath of the war was, nevertheless, such that it allowed a democratic state to come into existence in a fairly stable way. This was largely due to the already existing governmental structure that had been evolving under the Russian rule.

The 1918 war colored also the national and international politics for nearly a century, and it is only recently that a more evenhanded representation of the events of 1918 is beginning to emerge, both in academic and in popular discussions.

In 1919, after new elections and the new constitution being established, K.J. Ståhlberg was elected by the Parliament the first President of Finland.

The next decades, 1920s and 1930s were marked by increasing hostility towards communists. It culminated with the escalation to a nearly full-blown right-wing coup by the so called Lapua-movement. The Mäntsälä –rebellion in 1932 was the end of their direct endeavors: the army high command refused to back the rebels, and a direct intervention of President Svinhufvud officially dismantled the movement, which, however, continued its political agenda in a more muted form through the right-wing Patriotic People's Movement (Isänmaallinen Kansanliike, IKL) 1932-1944. It had, however, managed to achieve its main aim: the banning of all communist activity.

These events led to the celebration of the so called Reconciliatory Weeks at the end of the year (the first time was in 1935), at the end of which the president (in 1935 President Svinhufvud) gave a New Year's Speech. These speeches thus began in 1935 as a symbol of national unity, aiming at the healing of the deep divisions left in the nation by the civil war and the anti-communist movements. A second cause of the rift was the deeply felt antagonism surrounding language politics, which had also dominated much of the Finnish political debates of the 19th century. Swedish and Finnish had been established by the constitution in 1919 as equal national languages, but in the 1930s the debate was still strongly felt, being perceived also as a political matter.

The sense of national unity was tested in the three wars Finland fought as part of the raging World War II. In 1939-40 there was the Winter War: the Soviet Red Army attacked Finland in November 1939, and agreed to sign a

⁷⁹ This made them to be considered traitors by the Whites, who viewed Russians as threatening the internal political and democratic order of Finland (Loima, 2007).

peace treaty 13.3.1940, according to which Finland ceded the Karelian Isthmus. This then led to the Continuation War fought in 1941-44. Finland re-entered the war after Soviet air attacks, fighting as a co-belligerent of Germany. Armistice agreement was signed in September 1944 (signed by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and Finland). As Finland agreed to clear the country of German troops, this led to the third war, the War of Lapland 1944-45.

After the war an Allied Control Commission was established in Helsinki to oversee that the conditions of the peace treaty were observed⁸⁰. A significant part of these conditions were the massive reparations payments Finland had to make to Russia from 1945-52. The estimate of the total amount was around 4.4 billion Euros (in the currency of 2012), which at the time meant that the payments counted for 5-16% of the national expenditure. The positive effect of this otherwise extremely taxing task was that it in effect helped to kick-start much of the metallurgical post-war industry. This was often also used as a rhetorical resource; emphasizing the future use this experience had given Finnish industry and people (e.g. Kekkonen, 1952). It is to be noted that of all the nations which were sentenced to pay war reparations, Finland was the only country in the world that actually paid them all, thus paving the way also for future positive relations with the former Allied countries.

The other conditions demanded by the Allies included the proscription of organizations deemed anti-Soviet (including the women's 200 000 members strong unarmed defense organization called *Lotta Svärd*). In the ensuing enforcement of the restoration of 1940 frontiers Finland lost in total more than 10% of its land.

These three wars left in their wake 91.500 dead, about 200 000 wounded (of which severely wounded were about 90 000), and some 30 000 widows, and 50 000 orphans. Also, there had been some 70 000 children sent to safety mainly to Sweden during the war. Some 20% of these children remained in their foster families even after the war. The psychological cost of this forced separation might also be one of the factors contributing to the significant emigration in the 1960s (Korppi-Tommola, 2008), apart from causing post-traumatic stress symptoms on a more massive scale, still visible after 60 years of the separation (Andersson, 2011), as well as increasing depressive symptoms (Pesonen et al., 2007) and severe mental disorders (Räikkönen et al., 2011), and a host of even physiological consequences (Pesonen & Räikkönen, 2012).

In addition, the cession of the Karelian Isthmus meant that some 410 000 people (12% of the population) were left homeless, and in an act of unprecedented organization and efficacy, these people were relocated in what was left of Finland and given homesteads. The evacuees were helped by the Government, granting them land or money in compensation for the property

⁸⁰ see Palokangas et al., 1997

they had had to leave behind in Karelia. The private owners of the lands that had been given to the Karelians received monetary compensation.

The final peace treaty for WWII was signed in 1947 in Paris. Due to the concerns voiced by Soviets, Finland decided not to accept the Marshal Aid, but instead in 1948, Finland signed the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance (FCMA) with the Soviet Union. This formed the basis for the Finnish-Soviet relations for the duration of the Cold War. It was replaced by other political and economic agreements between Finland and the newly formed Russia in 1992.

The proof of Finland being in the good graces of the world-wide community was the fact that the 1952 Olympic Games were held in Helsinki, and indeed few years afterwards (in 1955) Finland joined both the United Nations as well as the Nordic Council. In 1961 Finland became part of the EFTA (European Free Trade Association), which in turn escalated the already strained relations with the Soviet Union.

The Cold War was impacting the relationship Finland had with the Soviet Union, and especially in the end of 1950s –beginning of 1960s there was a real fear and concern that a third world war would break out or that Finland would be taken over by the Soviets. This period, the so called “night-frost crises” marked the consolidation of power of President Kekkonen (elected first time in 1956) as he was viewed as the only trusted interlocutor by the Soviets. Kekkonen era also produced a high profile success in Finland’s efforts to act as a peacemaker in global politics as in 1975 the first Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was hosted in Helsinki.

After a fairly prosperous decade of the 1980s, Finland faced its most severe economic post-war crisis in the early 1990s. The recession lasted 1991-1993, and in its aftermath the banking system and economic structure was re-organized.

The electoral law underwent fundamental change, so that in 1994 the President was elected for the first time directly by the people. The election was won by the future Nobel Peace Laureate, Martti Ahtisaari. Under him Finland joined the EU in 1995, after a national referendum in which about 60% were in favor of joining.

In 1999 the Parliament approved the new constitution which strongly curbed the presidential powers, substantially changing the president’s role in internal and external politics, at the same time raising the importance of the Prime Minister. It entered into force a year later, in the beginning of 2000. The present study is therefore also limited by the end of the 1919 constitution and the presidential powers granted under it. In the presidential elections of 2000, Tarja Halonen became the first woman to be elected president.

3.5 ECONOMY

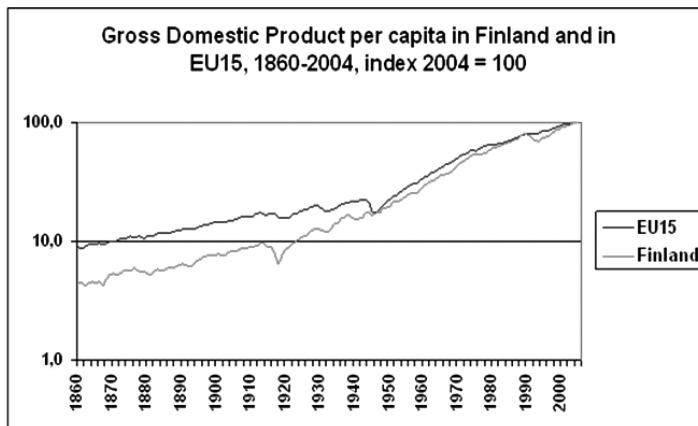
The available evidence suggests that culture plays an important role in supporting both stable democracy and economic development.
Granato et al. 1996b

This section briefly delineates the economic development of Finland, highlighting the turning points and general long term-trends. According to Inglehart and Welzel (2005) democratic development becomes more plausible as the general GNP grows, but for Finland the reverse seems to be true, so that the democratic structures being in place allowed economic growth to happen.⁸¹

The following tables give a general picture of the economy. Unfortunately there are only estimates of the earlier times (prior to 1860). For example Maddison (2010) gives as the GDP per capita in 1820 as 781\$, and in 1850, 911\$ (given as 1990 International Geary-Khamis dollars).

The following chart shows the development of GDP per capita in Finland 1860-2004, as presented by Hjerppe (2010).

Figure 2 GDP per capita in Finland 1860-2004



Agriculture provided the main livelihood for most of Finns till 1950 (Myrskylä, 1999). After that the change has been quite rapid, so that now only about 4.2% of the population is employed in agriculture, and public services employ more than 30% (Statistics Finland, 2007b). According to

⁸¹ The Inglehart & Welzel figure of 7000\$ (p.169) being a kind of cut off point for the likelihood of a democratic regime to occur was fulfilled in Finland only in 1964 (Maddison, 2010), at which point the country had more than 60 years of democratic modus operandi behind it, cf. Schwartz & Sagie, 2000.

National Accounts⁸², in terms of GDP, in 1860 a little over 60% was from Primary production, and in 2000 it has shrunk to under 3%. At the same time the role of Tertiary production has followed the general Western European pattern of increased importance rising to nearly 60% of the GNP in 2000.

The following table also starts at 1860s, showing the development of economy as annual growth of the GDP volume. As can be seen, there was a strong growth period after WWII that lasted till the impact of the energy crisis set in.

Table 5. *Annual growth of the economy of Finland, 1860-2000.*

Period	Average annual growth of GDP volume
prior to 1860	not available
1860-1890	2.2%
1890-1913	3.0%
1920-1938	4.7%
1946-1974	4.9%
1974-1993	2.0%
1994-2000	3.8%

Note: this table Based on Hjerpe, 1988, and on the Statistical Yearbook 2007, Statistics Finland.

3.5.1 SHAPING FORCES

The economy of Finland has been strongly shaped by geo-political factors. As Hjerpe (2010) points out, Finland does not have large amounts of other natural resources, no oil or coal and relatively few minerals⁸³. Water power is not produced in large quantities either, because of the height differences being so small.

From the agricultural practices of the earliest settlers onwards, Finland can be divided into three geographically differing agricultural areas: animal husbandry in the north; burn-beating area in the east, and field husbandry in the west (Havas, 1981; Soininen, 1959). The division was naturally mainly

⁸² Statistical yearbook 2007, section 325

⁸³ However, till the end of 1980s copper was mined in Outokumpu, the then biggest copper mine in Europe (Hjerpe, 2010). Currently there are 8 operating ore mines producing mainly chromium, nickel, copper, gold, silver, and zinc. Today Finland is the only provider of chromium inside the European Union, producing some 4% of the world's chromium production. The impact of mining is also important as it contributes to the economic development of non-urban areas (Rissanen, 2011).

due to geography. These areas have had a differing economic history up to modern times (cf. Aro, 2007; Statistics Finland, 2007b).

For centuries Finland served mainly as a material (lumber, tar, fur, grain) and personnel resource for the various bellicose initiatives of Sweden (Kuisma, 2009), often resulting in Finland being occupied and/or ransacked by Sweden's enemies (mainly the Russians). This contributed to Finland's agricultural backwardness, also due to the lack of interest of the landowners (who viewed their holdings in Finland more as a resource to be exploited), and periodical scarcity of people due to wars and natural calamities (Kuusterä, 1999).⁸⁴

The necessity to sever Finland from Sweden (from the Russian imperial point of view) and the necessity to establish the State finances colored the economic policies of the early 1800s. One of the innovations was that the landowners had to be Finnish citizens; this naturally led to the focus of the landowners to being more Finland-oriented and therefore the interest to develop the country and its produce was greater (Kuusterä, 1999). As this coincided with a relatively peaceful external period, Finland experienced a fairly positive economic growth.

The growth of capital in Finland was quite slow in the beginning, but gained speed after the passing of the first Finnish Companies Act in 1864. In 1859 the relaxation of the restrictions of rural trade had meant that all over Finland a large number of shops were opened, and also steam-driven saw-mills were permitted that year (Kirby 2006). In 1868 the law of freedom to move and work was passed (comparable to the current EU regulation of similar freedoms), severing the former ties of people to their villages. Complete freedom of trade was established in 1879.

3.5.2 AGRICULTURE AND LAND POLICIES

In 1757, Finland still being under the Swedish rule, General Parcelling⁸⁵ of the land was started. This caused a general social down sliding as the traditional village structure was disrupted, and ultimately can be seen as one of the causes behind the tragic Civil War of 1918. A large landless population was created as a result of the previous common grazing grounds being diminished or having vanished altogether. On the other hand, the Grand Parcelling also led to the peasants becoming more individualized as farms became more of a single unit.

Quite soon after Independence (1917), the Land Acquisition Act meant that a lot of the crofters became small farm owners and received state subsidies. Among other things, this also opened up new doors for social

⁸⁴ This naturally echoes the later global mechanisms as well, as Finland acts as a host of many internationally held companies, whose profit structure mean that not all profit produced in Finland will actually stay here.

⁸⁵ Also seen as a source of societal level modern individualism, see Mäkinen, 2012.

mobility. The Land Acquisition Act also led to a significant amount of all farming land being privately owned (Ojala & Nummela, 2006). The process of land acquisition continued till the onset of the Winter War of 1939-40 (the Finnish front of WWII).

After the war, both war veterans as well as the evacuees from Karelia were given land. This added to the tendency of farms being very small, making agricultural progress and productivity a real challenge. In the 1960s this reached a breaking point resulting in a large number of small farm holders migrating to Sweden, thus emptying of the countryside. After the 1960s the number of farms has sunk and their sizes have grown. According to Hjerppe (2010) Finland is converging with the rest of Western Europe in terms of share of agricultural production and labor as well. Nowadays Finland doesn't have a separate agricultural policy of its own, but its agricultural policies are conformed to the Common Agricultural Policy of the European Union.

As the State had economical interest in forestry through the land directly under its ownership, the 19th century saw the creation of strong ties between the state and the family-run forest business; a trend which was still in existence in the 20th century as well. These ties, (then as now, see Valkeapää & Karppinen, 2010) are based on common economic interests, and tend to result in the maintenance of status quo and in the creation of pockets of privileged elite aligned with the interests of the State, even in the middle of an otherwise modern democracy.

3.5.3 COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

The mercantilist privileges and rights Alexander I had promised to maintain in vigor were challenged by the introduction of the increasingly liberalist ideas and practices linked with the rise of sawmills and lumber industry in the 1870s. The growth of the industrial sector, namely the textile, iron, and lumber industry in the 19th century, meant that the needed viable infrastructure for these products to reach the markets (of which St Petersburg was the most important) had to be put in place (Kuisma, 2009).

A form of cutting the ties to Sweden was the raising of the export and import customs duties towards Sweden. At the same time especially Eastern Finland enjoyed privileges in its commerce with St Petersburg, which served to strengthen the Russian input into Finnish economy, as well as providing a thriving market for Finnish products. This was one of the foremost reasons for a notable increase of the Finnish forest industry and lumber export.

The favorable (for Finland, that is) customs policies continued till the late 19th century and the Russification period at the turn of the century. These policies contributed significantly to the establishing of Finland as a trade partner also on the international arena, which naturally was an advantage after the Independence. Under Sweden e.g. the tar produced here was sold as a Swedish product, so therefore the establishing of Finland as a producer in its own right was important.

3.5.4 MONETARY POLICIES

One of the consequences of the political separation from Sweden was also the creation of one of the oldest central banks in the world, the Bank of Finland (Kuusterä & Tarkka, 2011). It was first established in 1811 in Turku as Alexander I ratified the establishment of an Office for Exchange, Lending and Deposits in the Grand Duchy of Finland. Its establishment resulted in the augmented rate of growth of capital in Finland. The Office was moved to Helsinki in 1819.

After decades of slowly trying to pry the economy of Finland away from its ties to Sweden, in 1860 Finland was given its own currency, the *markka* (later internationally denoted as FIM). In 1865 the mark was tied to silver standard and in 1878 to the international gold standard in 1878. This contributed, albeit unintentionally, also to giving Finland a degree of economic autonomy (Kuusterä, 1999). During the WWI the *markka* was separated from both gold and silver standards due to heavy inflation. In 1948 Finland joined the Bretton Woods agreement. In 1971, as Bretton Woods was dismantled, *markka* then followed a basket of currencies. In 1991 the *markka* was pegged to ECU, (which contributed to the severity of the crisis in 1993). Finland joined the European Monetary System in 1996, and in the beginning of 1999, the Euro area⁸⁶.

3.5.5 MODERN ECONOMIC GROWTH

By the 1980s Finland had become one of the wealthiest nations in the world. Kokkinen (2011b, 2012) posits that the impact of imported capital and technology explains the growth seen in Finland in the 20th century. According to Kokkinen (2011b, 2012) long term Finnish economic growth can be seen as a result of the new production technology enhancing productivity interacting with the growth of the GNP; both of which are being fuelled by human capital. Kokkinen states that economic growth is made possible when the country in question is positively interconnected to more developed countries, and can thus be on the receiving end of the latest production technology. This analysis fits quite well the Finnish development of both 19th and 20th century.

In the 1980s also the electronic industry in Finland started its triumphal growth. At its height (2000) Nokia, spearheading Finnish economy, was solely responsible for 4% of the GNP (Ali-Yrkkö, 2010). At the same time there was an increase in the research-and- development outlay to 3% of GDP, one of the highest in the world (Hjerppe, 2010).

The political and/or economic agreements Finland has entered into (1961 Finn-EFTA, 1974 EEC, and 1995 full EU membership) have opened Finland up also to foreign investments and have thus contributed to the economic

⁸⁶ The *markka* therefore ceased to exist as a currency of its own, although officially the Euro was adopted as currency in February 2002.

growth of Finland, but have naturally also helped to converge the cycles in Finland with those of the other EU partners (Kokkinen, 2012).

The impact of social capital on the economic development, (i.e. growth) was presented by Putnam et al. (1993) which at the time brought trust to the forefront of economic development studies⁸⁷. Rice & Ling (2002) also found social capital to be the connector between democracy and economic growth, and found it to be a remarkably stable factor over time. Granato et al. (1996a) argued that cultural attitudes towards achievement and thrift positively affect economic growth. On the other hand, as Schneider et al. (2000) point out, there are many as yet unstudied factors impacting economic growth, culture being just one of them. As they point out (p.315), it is also a Herculean (and probably impossible) task to “*disentangle culture and institutional structure*”. Edwards and Patterson (2009) take it further by questioning the stability of cultural impact on economic growth.

An addendum to the discussion comes from the role of education. Where it had been argued (by e.g. Snellman) that Finland’s power lies in educating its people, the argument has now been put forth that Finland’s economy is based on promoting a knowledge based society, and that the economic success of Finland is due to its schooling system (see e.g. Sahlberg, 2007, 2010a, 2010b; Schienstock, 2004).

Another factor strongly linked with economic growth has been democracy. However, it seems that the direction of causality between democracy and economic performance (as measured in GDP per capita) is unclear (see Gerring et al. (2005) for a review and inclusion of historical perspective), and the discussion is an ongoing one with vivid interest going both ways (see e.g. Wucherpfenning & Deutsch, 2009; Inglehart & Welzel, 2009; and Doucouliagos & Ulubasoglu, 2009). In the Finnish context it has been argued (cf. Kokkinen, 2011a) that the values enhancing democracy also enhance economy. While the path is not a direct one, Helkama (2004b) argues that equality (a universalism value in SVT) enhances trust which in turn enhances innovation, which in turn increases competitiveness, and thus promotes economic growth.

3.6 CRISES

From the Finnish point of view the most profound economic crises (apart from the war-induced ones), have been the 1867-68 Great famine, the 1973 oil crisis, and the recession of 1991-1994. The impact of these crises has been

⁸⁷ Yet, see Mariani (2004), for a discussion on the role of trust in economic development. He argues that both independence (as part of the achievement motivation) and trust are necessary for economic growth. He also argues for responsibility, loyalty and honesty as the moral components necessary for economic growth. See also Khan et al. (2010), for similar Asian findings, implying the usefulness of these also in non-Western cultures.

felt not only in the economic sector, but naturally also as loss of lives and increased human suffering. The unemployment rates have skyrocketed during the crises of the 20th century, causing multiple long term problems on individual and societal level.

The 1867-68 famine was the last general Western peace-time famine⁸⁸. Its causes were a mixture of natural circumstances (cold weather, very short summer) and human factors⁸⁹: negligence and misjudgment (requesting of help was done too late, c.f. Olkkonen, 1987), poor infrastructure, weak government, and no grain storages. Also, poor infrastructure meant that the information of the worst hit areas did not reach the capital where the decisions were made fast enough, which caused further delay of relief to arrive in the form of food. The scarcity of food caused a large begging movement, and people died of disease as well as of hunger. Of Finland's less than 2 million inhabitants, 270 000 died during 1866-68, that is ca. 14% of the entire population.

The energy crisis of 1974 had its roots international conflicts, as the aftermath of the 1973 Yom Kippur War⁹⁰ led to an oil embargo, which then caused the oil price to soar, which in turn was one of the main causes behind the crisis itself. The Finnish front of the crisis was above all seen in the severe restrictions the Government posed on the citizens' consumption of energy: it affected heating, travelling, lighting of shops and roads. 1970s also saw the largest emigration movement from Finland, especially to Sweden⁹¹, as the crisis had produced severe unemployment. While it was less severe than in the rest of Europe (Hjerppe, 2010), yet in 1975 a crisis government was set up to deal with the question of unemployment, which in 1978 reached the peak of 200 000 people. The bilateral trade with the Soviet Union proved to be a venue of help, as there was space for the increase in volume (Hjerppe, 2010).

The recession in 1991-94⁹² is the third crisis included in this study. The reasons behind the recession have attracted a lot of research; it was essentially due to both external and internal factors. The financial policy of the 1980s, which had been a period of strong economic growth, had resulted in overheating the housing and banking markets; the links with the Soviet Union meant that when it collapsed in 1989, Finland was heavily impacted⁹³; banks had been very liberal with loans also in the private sector, and

⁸⁸ The area hit by crop failure ran from Northern Sweden to Northern Russia.

⁸⁹ cf. Häkkinen, 2012;

⁹⁰ Which started when Syria and Egypt attacked Israel

⁹¹ The aforementioned (see section 3.5.2.) changes in the size of farms and harsh conditions already having started a large-scale emigration movement to Sweden.

⁹² see also Kiander, 2001

⁹³ Part of the crisis can be attributed to the collapse of the bilateral commercial relations with the then Soviet Union. Its collapse was also one of the triggers threatening the Finnish welfare system (Kalela et al., 2001).

companies had been given the freedom to access foreign loans in 1986, resulting in the industry being heavily in debt, which then drove the companies to bankruptcy. It also led to failed investments and loss of competitiveness for the industrial sector, partially due to the monetary policy adopted by the government. In addition, among the other external factors were also the Western European recession, and the impact of international capital liberalization (Hjerppe, 2010).

A lot of small companies failed, as did bigger ones as well, in addition to mass unemployment. The GDP fell by more than 10% in 3 years, and unemployment reached 21% in 1994. The ensuing banking crisis triggered a profound structural change in the Finnish financial sector. The whole impact of this crisis is still under study, especially its psychological toll.

3.7 DEMOGRAPHY

At the end of the 18th century Finland had one of the fastest growing populations in Europe. In merely 50 years, it doubled in size: in 1749 the population was 495,000, in 1807 it was 907,000 (Eloranta et al., 2006; Koskinen et al. 1994). This trend continued till 1950, when the population reached about 4 million. As of end of 2010, the population of Finland was ca. 5.4 million inhabitants, rendering Finland still quite sparsely populated at 17 people/km².

Table 6. *Population of Finland 1800-2000.*

Year	Population	Year	Population
1800	832 659	1910	2 943 400
1810	863 301	1920	3 147 600
1820	1 177 546	1930	3 462 700
1830	1 372 077	1940	3 695 600
1840	1 445 626	1950	4 029 803
1850	1 636 915	1960	4 446 222
1860	1 746 725	1970	4 598 336
1870	1 768 769	1980	4 787 778
1880	2 060 782	1990	4 998 478
1890	2 380 140	2000	5 181 115
1900	2 655 900		

Note: the table is based on Statistical Yearbook (2007), Statistics Finland, and on Koskinen et al., (1994).

In 1811 to Finland was annexed the so called Old-Finland, i.e. the parts of Karelia that had been under Russian rule before 1809. This meant that the population grew by 185 000 at once, which offsets the negative population growth caused by the 1808-9 war. (Koskinen et al. (1994), Appendix 1). The effects of the crop failures in early 1860s and of the hunger years 1866-68 meant that the population growth was halted for nearly a decade. (Koskinen et al. (1994), Appendix 3). In early 1910s, as well as in 1960s, there was a very

strong emigration period during which 6-7% of the population emigrated, the most popular destinations being America, Canada, Sweden, and Australia.

Life expectancy has grown from some 40 years in 1810s to nearly 80 years in 2000. Finland has Europe's fastest ageing population, due to low fertility rates. According to OSF Population projection (2009), in 1900 the percentage of over 65 year olds was 5.3%, and in 2000 it was already 15% (with an estimate of nearly 30% by the year 2060).

3.8 EDUCATION

The outline of the history of education in Finland presented here is done in fairly broad lines⁹⁴. In the beginning of the 19th century, the official language of Finland was still Swedish. All higher education was in Swedish, and travelling schools became the most important means of education for Finnish speakers, especially in the countryside. The upper class spoke mainly Swedish, whilst the majority of the lower classes spoke Finnish.

As Finland was part of Sweden at the time of Reformation, the Lutheran Church was already firmly established as the provider of education prior to the passing of Finland to Russian rule in 1809. The Lutheran Church placed a high importance on personal reading of the Bible, and in order to ensure that people were capable of doing it, stated that it was the Church officials' duty to make sure this was followed through as early as in the 1686 Church Code. This Code also demanded that parishioners needed to be able to read, but not necessarily write (cf. Kuikka, 1991; Mäkinen, 2012). By extrapolating the data from more local statistics, it can be estimated that by early 1800s that most had elementary reading skills (Laasonen, 1967), although there are not reliable statistics that would cover all of Finland before 1880. That year of all population 97.6% were capable of at least reading (Statistical Yearbook 1903).

During the 19th century the status of Finnish gradually changed through the various initiatives motivated by rising nationalism.⁹⁵ One of the goals of the nationalistic movements was national public education taught in Finnish. Public education in Finnish began in the 1860s, partly also influenced by the reforms introduced by Czar Alexander II. The Language Statute of 1863 established Finnish as an official language (even though a transition period of 20 years was given for Finnish to reach the position of Swedish). A national school system, independent of the Church, was set up in 1866. The non-ecclesiastical National Board of Education (now Finnish Board of Education, FNBE) was established in 1869. A decree issued in 1898

⁹⁴ For an analysis of the history and its modern significance, see Simola (2005).

⁹⁵ Also characterized by the ideas of developing a national consciousness based on a common history (e.g. the creation of the lengthy epic poem *Kalevala* by Lönnrot in 1835), typical to European nationalism in general (see Hroch, 1996).

contained an obligation for the local authorities to provide all school-aged children with an opportunity for schooling. However, to attend school was made compulsory only in 1921 (FNBE, Historical Overview; Kielilakikomitea, 2000).

From 1970s onwards compulsory school consists of a 9-year comprehensive school (age 7-16), with a nationally adopted curriculum, and minimum performance standards established for all grade levels. The aim is that schools provide a fairly uniform education regardless of location, and therefore all Finnish citizens have access to the compulsory education free of charge. The impact of this has also been the subject of much debate⁹⁶, but there seems to be indicators that the increase of e.g. economic upward mobility is due to education, rather than transferred wealth from parents after the adoption of the comprehensive school system (but see Sirniö et al., 2013).

The FNBE states that “*a major objective of Finnish education policy is to achieve as high a level of education and competence as possible for the whole population*” (FNBE: Education Structure. Fundamental Principles). As can be seen from the table below, in the 1970s one-fourth of the population over 15 had an above comprehensive school level education, whereas in the year 2000 this percentage had more than doubled. The difference between the educational level of men and women has also grown smaller.

Table 7. *Educational structure of population: percentage over 15 years with above-comprehensive level education 1970-2000.*

Year	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Men	27	33.6	40.7	47.2	52.1	56.1	59.9
Women	23.9	29.8	36.5	43.2	48.9	53	58.9
All	25.4	31.6	38.5	45.1	50.4	55	59.4

Source: Official Statistics of Finland.

The right to education is now recorded in the Constitution of Finland as part of the basic rights of citizens. The Constitution of Finland states that “*public authorities must secure equal opportunities for every resident in Finland to get education also after compulsory education and to develop themselves, irrespective of their financial standing.*” (Constitution of Finland, chapter 2, paragraph 16).

The first university in Finland was the Kungliga Åbo Akademi (Royal Academy of Turku) established in 1640. After a disastrous fire destroyed most of Turku, the university was transferred to Helsinki in 1828, and its

⁹⁶ cf. Kokkinen, 2013 and Pekkala & Lucas 2005 for fairly different conclusions.

name was changed to the Imperial Alexander University. From 1919 it has been known as the University of Helsinki. The Constitution of 1919 stated that the public authorities needed to provide general compulsory education and basic education free of charge. This was also extended to universities, provided for largely by public funding.⁹⁷ The Finnish higher education system consists of two complementary sectors: polytechnics and universities. It follows the so called Bologna-model (Eurydice Finland; FNBE Overview of Education System).

Finnish education has received quite a lot attention, especially since in international assessments⁹⁸ Finland has also done very well comparing to other OECD countries, ranking 1st in PISA 2006 and 3rd in PISA 2009.⁹⁹

Up to now Finland has managed to win Three Nobel prizes: in 1939 F.E. Sillanpää won the Nobel Prize for Literature; in 1945 A.I. Virtanen won the Nobel Prize for Chemistry for his work with fodder preservation; and in 2008 former President Ahtisaari won the Nobel Peace Prize.

3.9 THE RULERS

In this section the reigns of the five czars and the tenures of the ten presidents of the present study are each depicted by giving a brief description of their personality and of the times in which they lived, together with major events under their rule.

For each form of polity, also a brief description of how the Czars or presidents come to power is also given.

The following table lists all of the rulers whose speeches are included in the study, giving their name, dates of birth/death, title with which they reigned and the duration of their reign/tenure.

⁹⁷ This changed with the passing of the Universities Act in 2009, by which universities became independent corporations under public law

⁹⁸ such as PISA (Programme for International Students Assessment)

⁹⁹ See Niemi (2009), for an outline of the possible reasons.

Table 8. *Rulers and heads of State of Finland 1809-2000, in the table are included only those whose speeches are included in the present study.*

Name	Born - Died	Title	Reign
Alexander I	1777-1825	Emperor of Russia, Grand Duke of Finland (1809-1825)	1801-1825
Nicholas I	1796-1855	Emperor of Russia, Grand Prince of Finland	1825-1855
Alexander II	1818-1881	Emperor of Russia, Grand Prince of Finland	1855-1881
Alexander III	1845-1894	Emperor of Russia, Grand Prince of Finland	1881-1894
Nicholas II	1868-1917	Emperor of Russia, Grand Prince of Finland	1894-1917
Mihail Aleksandrovich Stahovich	1861-1923	Governor-General of Finland	3/1917 -9/1917
Pehr Evind Svinhufvud	1861-1944	Chairman of the Senate	12/1917- 5/1918
Pehr Evind Svinhufvud	1861-1944	Regent Protector of the State	5/1918- 12/1918
Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim	1867-1951	Regent Protector of the State	12/1918-7/1919
Kaarlo Juho Ståhlberg	1865-1952	President of the Republic of Finland	1919-1925
Lauri Kristian Relander	1883-1942	President of the Republic of Finland	1925-1931
Pehr Evind Svinhufvud	1861-1944	President of the Republic of Finland	1931-1937
Kyösti Kallio	1873-1940	President of the Republic of Finland	1937-1940
Risto Ryti	1889-1956	President of the Republic of Finland	1940-1944
Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim	1867-1951	President of the Republic of Finland	1944-1946
Juho Kusti Paasikivi	1870-1956	President of the Republic of Finland	1946-1956
Urho Kaleva Kekkonen	1900-1986	President of the Republic of Finland	1956-1982
Mauno Koivisto	1923-	President of the Republic of Finland	1982-1994
Martti Ahtisaari	1937-	President of the Republic of Finland	1994-2000

3.9.1 THE FIVE CZARS, 1809-1917

The throne of the Emperor: who can rule?

Russia was an autocratic absolute monarchy till 1906 (Budnitskii, 2004). The Czar ruled as a sovereign, aided as he wished by various advisory organs, especially by the Governing Senate holding the highest judicial powers. The Czars as absolute monarchs were not bound by the opinions of this Governing Senate, and could dismiss it or overturn its decisions as they desired. An integral part of becoming a Czar was the coronation ceremony; religious symbolism was very markedly present, in e.g. the anointing Czars were subjected to; it conveyed the almost mystical priest-like qualities associated with the person and office of the Czar.

In religious matters the Czars being Orthodox were not subject to the Pope, and had been de facto heads of the Orthodox Church since the 18th century ruling it through the Holy Governing Synod, the members of which the emperor appointed. The case of Finland is particularly interesting from this point of view, since the Reformation adage “*cuius regio, eius religio*” was clearly not applied when Finland was annexed to Russia, but instead the Czars, Alexander I as well as his successors, explicitly promised to maintain in vigor also the religion of the land.

After the 1905 revolution, in 1906 the Czar Nicholas II agreed to the new Russian constitution and to the formation of a bicameral parliament. The Parliament consisted of the indirectly elected representatives forming the lower house called “State Duma” and of the Czar-nominated State Council. While the former had the legislative powers, the latter was however not responsible to the State Duma, and therefore the entire system still permitted Nicholas II to maintain his autocratic powers. The Czar had an absolute veto over legislation and could also dismiss the parliament at any time.

Therefore, the concept of power under which all the five Czars¹⁰⁰ had been brought up, was not that of a constitutional monarchy, in which even the ruler is subject to laws, but their rule was based on the concept that all power and wealth belongs to the sovereign, who then distributes it as he sees fit (for a discussion on the development of the concept of Empire, see Marasimova, 2007). The Czars delegated their power to their representatives, be they individuals or institutions (e.g. the Governor-General of Finland, or the Senate of Finland), who then acted in his name. Consequently also the symbols connected to him are treated with reverence and viewed as an extension of the Czar. For instance, the throne on which Alexander I sat during the Porvoo Diet in 1809, was afterwards kept in the Senate’s meeting hall in Turku (Lahtinen, 2003), and duly brought on scene whenever the Parliament met till after the independence, when it was finally stored in the National Museum (Hyvönen, 1998, as cited in Valanto, 1999).

¹⁰⁰ included in the present study, that is.

All five Czars belonged to the Romanov dynasty that had begun in 1613. Alexander I succeeded his father Paul I to the throne when the latter was murdered. The Romanovs based the succession not only on patrilineal primogeniture, but also on the requirement that monarchs and their consorts had to be of the Orthodox faith, and (an addenda by Alexander I), their spouses had to be of equal birth. When Alexander I died without having fathered a son, he was succeeded by his brother Nicholas I, who was in turn succeeded by his son Alexander II. After Alexander II was assassinated, his second son Alexander III (the elder brother, Nicholas, had died in 1865) became the Czar in 1881. He was succeeded by his eldest son Nicholas II, who was to be last Romanov to occupy the throne.

This entire period can also be seen as a continuous struggle between the desire for reformation on one hand and desire for security and maintenance on the other. The individual preferences are discussed later in relation to results.

The full title of the Czars was Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, of Moscow, Kiev, Vladimir, Novgorod, Tsar of Kazan, Tsar of Astrakhan, Tsar of Poland, Tsar of Siberia, Tsar of Chersonesos Taurica, Tsar of Georgia, Lord of Pskov, and Grand Duke of Smolensk, Lithuania, Volhynia, Podolia, and Finland, Prince of Estland, Livland, Courland and Semigalia, Samogitia, Belostok, Karelia, Tver, Yugra, Perm, Vyatka, Bulgaria and other territories; Lord and Grand Duke of Nizhni Novgorod, Sovereign of Chernigov, Ryazan, Polotsk, Rostov, Yaroslavl, Beloozero, Udoria, Obdoria, Kondia, Vitebsk, Mstislavl, and all northern territories; Sovereign of Iveria, Kartalinia, and the Kabardinian lands and Armenian territories – hereditary Lord and Ruler of the Circassians and Mountain Princes and others; Lord of Turkestan, Heir of Norway, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, Stormarn, Dithmarschen, Oldenburg, and so forth, and so forth, and so forth.

3.9.1.1 Alexander I (1801-1825)



Alexander I as seen in a portrait¹⁰¹

The main political feature of Alexander I reign was the European turmoil surrounding the Napoleonic wars. Alexander I has been depicted (Tyynilä,

¹⁰¹ Source: <http://bpun.unine.ch/IconoNeuch/Portraits/A-Z/A.htm>

2001; Klinge, 2001) as a surprisingly reformatory monarch, largely influenced by his childhood tutor La Harpe and his principle advisor Michail Speranski. He was a widely cultured man, and in his later years also deeply interested in spiritual matters.

Under Alexander's reign all over Russia new universities were founded, and other reforms were made, resulting in substantial financial investments also in the former Royal Academy of Turku, which in 1809 became the Imperial University of Turku. These investments and restructuring were fuelled by the conviction that the best way to ensure the constant supply of civil servants was through university education (Klinge, 2001), thus linking university education and the needs of the State and the interests of the ruler into one whole.

This also created a basis for the Czar being viewed as a benefactor of Finnish culture and education, promoter of the Finnish civilization, thus linking "Finnishness" to the person of the Czar (Klinge, 2001). As Haslam et al. (2011), point out, for a leader to be successful in the eyes of the followers, the leader has to be seen to promote the interests of the group, and the Czar in so doing also created a sense of "us" that intertwined the ruler and the people, creating an upsurge of loyalty, made visible e.g. in the huge turnout for imperial visits of 1809 (Lahtinen, 2003) and 1819 (Klinge, 2001).

In these reforms, Finland served also as a show-case (for a contrast with Poland, see Jalonen, 2009). In a small country where rules and regulations were already in place and obeyed, the ideas for various reforms could be seen acted upon more easily than on the level of the entire empire (Kirby 2006, 74), which seemed a valid comment also on the reforms introduced by Alexander II half a century later.

For the future development of Finland, one of the most important decisions was to have the matters concerning Finland presented directly to the Czar himself. For that reason the office of State-Secretary of Finland was created and based in St. Petersburg. The first holder of that office was Speranski. Another decision with far reaching consequences was the moving of the capital from Turku to Helsinki, and the subsequent renovation under Engel of the architecture of Helsinki, making it a "*miniature St. Petersburg*" (Niiniluoto, 1991, p.12). A third decision, affecting geopolitics ever since, was the already mentioned decision to engraft the parts of Karelia Russia had conquered in 1720 and 1743 back to the Grand Duchy in 1812.

The pull towards a more conservatory policy came through the European political turmoil and its German escalation (political murders) of 1820, which brought to a quick halt all the preparation of granting Finland any more political autonomy (such as the regular convening of the Finnish Diet) it already had obtained.

3.9.1.2 *Nicholas I (1825-1855)*



The original drawing by George Dodd in 1856¹⁰²

Nicholas I, Alexander I's younger brother, became the Czar after Alexander, as his elder brother, Constantine Pavlovich had secretly renounced the crown in 1823, of which decision Nicholas I had not been informed. His reign started with the suppressing of the Decembrist revolt, the aim of which had been to establish Constantine on the throne as a constitutional monarch.

Nicholas I reign was marked by a deep conviction of the necessity to secure his throne and person. He favored the military and was in general a strong supporter of discipline and hierarchy (Jussila, 2004). His reactions might have been due to the aftermath of the Decembrist revolution, and undoubtedly influenced by the turmoil in Europe in general (Polish revolt in 1831, in 1848-49 the Europe-wide revolutions of the sc. "Spring of Nations"). He also made numerous attempts to reduce local autonomy (e.g. in Finland introducing the censorship of the press in 1829, which was then maintained in vigor in various forms till 1865).

In 1828 the university was moved from Turku to Helsinki, ostensibly because of the great fire that had destroyed much of the city in 1827, but this move was also due to an attempt to further secure the Russian hold of the Finnish society, as Turku was situated uncomfortably near to Sweden. The support the Czar gave to the aspirations of the Fennomans was not because of a conscious support for nationalistic Finnish ideas, but because of the desire to allure Finland as far away from Western (and Swedish) influence as possible. It is the light of this that the establishing of the first position of professor of Finnish language and literature in 1851 is to be seen. University in general was seen as a hotbed for revolutionary ideas and as such placed under firmer control of the Governor-General.

Nicholas I attempted to maintain the status quo by strongly emphasizing the autocratic features of Czardom, subscribing to the ideals of absolute monarchy. He was also deeply concerned of the advancement of ideas that threatened religion (e.g. the Communist Manifesto of 1848) and in general encouraged the ideas of a large scale Russification, following the program of

¹⁰²Source:http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nicholas_I._George_Dodd._Pictorial_history_of_the_Russian_war_1854-5-6.jpg

“Orthodoxy, autocracy and the people”, proposed in 1833 by the minister of Education, Uvarov (see Kirby, 2006, p.93).

Marquis de Custine, a French nobleman who travelled through Finland and Russia in 1839, met with Nicholas I on more than one occasion. He first depicted the Czar in glowing terms calling him even the “*Louis XIV of the Slavs*” (de Custine, 1843/1991, p.85). Marquis de Custine also casts the Decembrist revolution in terms of struggle fuelled by misinformed quest for legitimacy. Nicholas I is quoted as saying, “*Despotism still exists in Russia, since that is the essence of my government; but it is suited to the genius of the nation. [...] No one is more Russian at heart than I am.*” (de Custine, 1843/1991, p.87). Towards the end of his book, Marquis de Custine’s opinion of both the Czar and of the Russian system of governance is extremely negative (de Custine, 1843/1991, p. 226); “*You must understand that I am not concerned at the moment with Tsar Nicholas, but with the Emperor of Russia. One is often told of the conventions that limit his power, but I was struck by its abuse, for which I can see no remedy.*”

The disputes with the Ottoman Empire escalated and the last years of Nicholas I reign were marked by the Crimean War, in which Britain, France, the Kingdom of Sardinia and the Ottomans fought Russia. He died in 1855 while the war was still going on.

3.9.1.3 Alexander II (1855-1881)



Alexander II in circa 1880¹⁰³

Alexander II was the firstborn child of Nicholas I and was thus groomed to be a Czar from the beginning, unlike his father had been. He was 37 years old when he became the Emperor. He was a much more liberally oriented than his father had been, and during his reign many reforms were made throughout the Russian Empire. Jussila (2004) argues that much of this propensity for reforms was due to the Crimean war having ended with Russian defeat, so that the liberal attitude is to be taken mainly as “*a sign of*

¹⁰³ Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:AlexII.JPG>

the weakening of the regime" (ibid.,p. 257, translation by the present author).

The unrest in Russia was, however, very evident under the surface, and there were numerous assassination attempts (at least three documented ones: 1866, 1879, 1880) directed at Alexander II. In March 1881 he was killed in the explosion of a bomb in Saint Petersburg. Behind his assassination was a left-wing party called Narodnaya Volya (People's Will), which maintained that Alexander II policies were not reformatory enough. Albeit not in unison, this party was in general following a socialist agenda and opposed to the monarchy, as well as in favor of the establishment of a constitution granting wider liberal rights to the people.

Alexander II assassination had several unfortunate consequences in terms of halting any reforms and re-introducing a climate of control and suppression, including pogroms and the general curtailing of personal freedom. However, from a state-governmental point of view, the succession being clear, this assassination did not lead to the kind of political turmoil it could have, had the leadership succession not been so strongly regulated (Iqbal & Zorn, 2008).

Matti Klinge (2001c, p.462) argues that from a Finnish point of view, the continuation of the monarchy meant that the nationalistic development could continue undisturbed, which it would not have done, had the claims for national reform been more successful, as this would have also put more pressure of generating a national Parliament rather than letting Finland develop its own national parliament. Finns continued to enjoy a personal relationship to the Czar, rather than being treated just as one of the many people within the Russian Empire. This later became also one of the cornerstones of Finnish political thought according to which the union between Finland and Russia was based on personal union to the Czar rather than a union to Russia as a whole. Finland provided a more easily controlled area to try out various reforms, and also, as before, the relative peacefulness of the Finns (in comparison to e.g. the Polish) meant that the reforms could also be seen as a form of reward for good conduct.

The most notable of Alexander's reforms was the emancipation of privately owned serfs in 1861 (imperial serfs were freed in 1866). This meant that a huge number (some 23 million) of former serfs were given their freedom and legal rights as citizens to marry, own property and businesses. Peasants were also given the opportunity to buy the land on which they had worked, but this did not affect household serfs, who were not given any land. Ideally this would have been a huge step towards freedom, but in reality the poorer peasants and the landless were not economically much better off after the reform. Other notable reforms of Alexander II targeted the judicial system and local government, opening the way to reforms towards the formation of civic society.

Finland thrived under Alexander II. The Governor-General returned his official residence to Helsinki, and in 1857 a high-level committee was formed

for the synchronizing of the legislation and governance of Russia and Finland. In 1859 the customs regulations were organized in a way which favored Finland, granting a period of strong economic growth as monopolies and other privileges ended. As mentioned before, in 1860 Finland was given its own currency, the *markka*.

The language policy adopted by the Czar (an initiative strongly lobbied for by J.V.Snellman, the Finnish statesman) meant that Finnish was granted the same status as an official language as Swedish in 1863 (this was given, however a 20 year transition period). This was quite a change, since till 1850, only religious and economic news were free from censorship in Finnish, and as late as 1862 the Finnish Senate had concluded that Finnish had not yet developed enough as a language, and that the civil servants had not sufficiently mastered it. Incidentally Finnish didn't achieve the status of the official language till 1902 (when the second official language was Russian, not Swedish), so some 40 years after the original decree was given.

From a political point of view the major change was the convening of the Diet for the first time since 1809. The preparations for this had gone on for a long time, but in the fall of 1863 the Czar with a large entourage opened the Diet, also as an attempt to lure the public opinion back to supporting the monarchy in view of the recent European turmoil (Klinge, 2001).

After his death, the Finnish Diet quickly agreed Alexander II needed to be commemorated even in Finland, and in 1894 Alexander II's statue at Helsinki main square (Senate's Square) was unveiled.

The statue later became the meeting point for manifestations protesting against the intensifying Russification attempts in later years (notably in 1899 when it was covered with wreaths and flowers as a form of protest against the February Manifesto). This statue has become so much part and parcel of the Finnish public cultural symbolic artifacts that it has been able to withstand the pressure of even independence and general anti-Russian opinions: it remains standing till this day. The symbolic virtues and values this statue extols are: Lex (law), Lux (light, i.e. the arts and science), Labor (work), and Pax (peace). The female figure representing Law, facing in the same direction as the main statue, was also later taken as the symbol of Finland itself, especially since at her side is a lion, the heraldic symbol of Finland since the 14th century (see Helsinki Art Museum/Public Art, and Meinander, 2011).

3.9.1.4 Alexander III, (1881-1894)



Alexander III as seen in a photo by Sergey Levitsky¹⁰⁴

The political climate of open threats to the throne in general and towards the person of the Czar in particular, together with the act of terrorism resulting in the death of his father naturally influenced Alexander III. The death of Alexander II by Russian terrorists was witnessed firsthand by both his son and grandson (the future Czar Nicholas II, who was 13 at the time).

This understandably had a lasting impact on both. There exists a wealth of literature on the effects of witnessing political violence or murder of one's close relatives, the in-depth reporting of which remains outside of the scope of the present study.

While it would of course be unwarranted to present any strong claims, the literature does however suggest the following reactions, all of which can be seen in the further actions of Alexander III, and to an extent in the reign of Nicholas II.

Firstly, Terror Management Theory (for a review see Burke, Martens & Faucher, 2010; and Hayes, Schimel, Arndt & Faucher, 2010) states that being made aware of death in general and of one's own mortality in particular, tends to lead to the stronger defense of one's own cultural worldviews. Mortality salience seems to lead to a number of effects such as: judging transgressions more severely, when these threaten one's own cultural worldviews (Florian & Miculincer, 1997); to justification of the destruction of perceived enemies (Hayes, Schimel & Williams, 2008); to the choosing and upholding of certain type of leaders, who conform to one's own worldviews (Cohen & Solomon, 2011); individuals hold more tightly onto culturally meaningful paths to symbolic immortality, such as fame or wealth (Kosloff & Greenberg, 2009); it may lead to perpetuation of violence against out-group members (Pyszczynski, Rothschild, & Abdollahi, 2008); to the importance of affirming one's in-group membership as a means to symbolic immortality

¹⁰⁴ Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alexander_III_2.jpg

(Niesta, Fritsche & Jonas, 2008); negative attitude towards the liberty of the press and emphasis on national security (Cuillier, Duell & Joireman, 2010); increased aggression and violence (McPherson & Joireman, 2009); increased support of extreme military measures perceived as being directed toward eradicating evil (Pyszczynski et al., 2006). From a value research point of view, mortality salience also leads to an increased affirmation of one's own values (Schmeichel & Martens, 2005).

Both Alexander III and Nicholas II preferred a policy of tightening of control in general, leading to a stronger emphasis on autocracy as a principle of government, as well as to a harder line towards political opponents and, following Nicholas I example, to an added emphasis on the Orthodox form of Christianity. This also led to large scale violence against the Jews (for varying attitudes of the Czars towards the Jews, see e.g. Gershenowitz, 1976).

On the other hand, Alexander III also emphasized the economic and social development of his empire, seen for instance in the expansion of the railroads and in the industrial development. In general, there was a much stronger emphasis on unifying the Empire into a Russian whole.

The policies of Alexander III towards Finland provoked much opposition, which was rather subdued in terms of overt political activism, but quite strong in comparison to what had been the case under Alexander II, when *"the Finns had[...] been allowed to run their own affairs"*, as Kirby (2006, p.125) states it.

This opposition was based mainly on the perception that what Alexander III was doing was anti-constitutional, and some members of the Senate resign in protest. The Russification of the Empire lead for instance to the cessation of Finland's own independent postal service as it was subsumed into the central Russian one in 1890. The codification of the Finnish laws also started during his reign in the 1880s, leading to the proclamation by Nicholas II of the February Manifesto in 1899 (Jussila, 2004, p.493) which strongly curbed Finland's autonomy within the Russian Empire.

3.9.1.5 Nicholas II (1894-1917)



Nicholas II in a photo taken in 1898¹⁰⁵

The last of Russian Czars, Nicholas II ascended the throne in 1894 at 26 years of age, after his father died unexpectedly (but of natural causes) at the age of 49. Although Nicholas was the eldest son, the timing of the ascension to the throne found him unprepared, and thus not entirely familiar with the affairs of the State (Klinge, 2001; Firsov, 2012). His education had emphasized religiosity, and he had also been brought up in relative physical isolation from his subjects, justified by security concerns. While still the heir apparent, he fell victim to an unsuccessful personal assassination attempt (which left him scarred for life) during a state visit in Japan in 1891. Some years after this, his coronation festivities turned into a stampede in which hundreds of people died; this naturally adds to the post-hoc interpretation of his reign being doomed to failure.

Albeit the individual psycho-historical assessment of Nicholas II is beyond the scope of this study, it seems rational to assume that both the life-events as well as the character traits of Nicholas II had an influence on the political developments under his reign. Allegedly a naturally shy and private man, he has been characterized as a conservative man whose attitude of mistrust towards dissidents, be they religious or political opponents, run quite deep. He saw his reign in intensely religious terms, “*being a devout Orthodox Christian viewed all of his political activity as religious service*” (Firsov, 2012, p.79). Also, his marriage to the German-born Empress Alexandra Feodorovna, a politically conservative woman who strongly opposed the more reformatory advisors of the Czar (Klinge, 2001), strengthened his own inbred convictions of the sanctity of Czardom and of the necessity to continue to uphold the idea of autocracy.

Deeply committed to autocracy and opposed to democratic reforms, Nicholas II continued the Russification policy begun by his predecessor, also approving of anti-Jewish pogroms as a means to strengthen the state. During the reign of Nicholas II there were also two periods of more intense

¹⁰⁵ Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tsar_Nicholas_II_-1898.jpg

Russification of Finland: the first in 1899-1905, and a second one from 1908-1917.

These Russification policies included the abolition of the Finnish currency, army, and postal service; introduced Russian as the main official language of administration, and also began a notable tightening of Russian censorship.

However, upon his ascension to the throne, Nicholas II had given a solemn oath, similar to his predecessors, in which he promised to uphold the existing laws of Finland and its status as an autonomous Grand Duchy (but for the interpretations of the meaning of this, see e.g. Jussila, 2004, pp. 538-539).

This led to the general Finnish assumption that the Czar was essentially “on their side”; and any actions which seemed to be contrary to this were initially interpreted as being done without his knowledge (Klinge, 2001, 487-8; see also Suuri adressi/Great Petition, 1899). Almost as a counterpart to this, it seems that Nicholas II was also convinced of the devotion his subjects felt towards him, to the point where he failed to ignore the signs that said otherwise (Firsov, 2012), a fact true also in his relationship to his Finnish subjects (Jussila, 2001, p. 617-8).

In line with the general emphasizing of the importance of all things Russian, encouraged by his advisors, Nicholas II also wanted to extend the Russian hold over new territories, e.g. claiming Manchuria for Russia in 1900. This later led to the Russo-Japanese war (1904-05), essentially a war sparked by the colonial interests of both parties in Manchuria and Korea. Russia lost the war, which contributed to the widespread protests, strikes and riots, resulting in the general weakening of the throne.

The continuous distancing of himself from the people for security reasons was a strategy which backfired, especially in the wake of the increasingly frequent political unrest. The culmination point of this was the so called Bloody Sunday in 1905, a peaceful protest march of 150 000 workers carrying icons and pictures of the imperial family turned into a bloodbath by soldiers shooting at them. The demonstrators wanted to meet with Nicholas II in person to present him with the petition signed by 135 000 people asking for political and constitutional reforms. The Czar chose not to meet the people; forewarned of the march he had gone to his private residence in Tsarskoye Selo, about 25 miles south of St. Petersburg. This was interpreted as a sign of his lack of interest in the people's plight and rejection of his people in general. This event was a watershed igniting the 1905 revolution as it turned the general opinion of the people against the Czar.

A similar event had turned the previously pro-Czar people of Finland against him, when in 1899 he refused to meet the delegation of 500 prominent Finns wanting to present him the so-called Grand Petition (signed by 522 931 people¹⁰⁶, gathered in 11 days by students skiing from village to

¹⁰⁶ The entire population was ca. 2,7 million.

village). The petition was asking him to rescind the so called February Manifesto which had marked the beginning of the first period of more intense Russification of Finland. The Manifesto was a Russian imperial proclamation which abolished Finland's autonomy within the Russian Empire, stating that henceforward Finnish laws would be subjected to existing Russian laws, and be entirely subject to the Czar's will (February Manifesto, 1899/2012).

Due to the Finnish concept of personal union with the Czar, his refusal to meet the delegation and to merely send an emissary to inform them that he was not angry with them turned Finland into a hotbed of (initially) passive resistance and escalating secession plans (Jussila 2001; Jalonen, 2009). The personification of power (which is typical to Russian rule, see Rosov, 2012) in this case meant that the conceptual bond of the Czar as "one of us", or even as a champion of the Finnish cause (Haslam et al., 2011), was irretrievably broken. Nicholas II also refused to receive the so-called Pro-Finlandia petition signed by more than a 1000 prominent Europeans (among whom were people such as Florence Nightingale and Emilie Zola) also asking the Czar to preserve Finland's autonomy.

Governor-General Nikolai Bobrikov became the personification of the subsequent Russification practices, and was widely hated. He was shot dead on the steps of the Senate in June 1904 by Eugen Schauman.

From a Finnish point of view, the most notable consequence of the turmoil of 1905, and especially of the general strike in Finland¹⁰⁷, was the strengthening of the conviction that the Finnish autonomy needs to be preserved, and the growing division in Finland in attitudes towards Russia. The general strikers in Finland had two main objectives: the cancelling of the February Manifesto and the universal suffrage coupled with the establishing of a unicameral parliament.

The so called November Manifesto of 1905 by which the Czar rescinded the February Manifesto of 1899 was hailed as a victory for the Finns. In 1906 the Czar signed the law which granted Finland the first universal suffrage in Europe, granting women not only the right to vote but also the right to stand for election. In 1907 the first unicameral parliament of 200 representatives was elected, 19 of who were women.

The second period of Russification from 1908 onwards was even more directed toward ending the Finnish autonomy and especially ending Finland's special direct relationship with the Czar. This added fuel to the already existing considerable anti-Russian sentiments, also strengthening the resistance movement, which blossomed into the so-called Jäger movement, which sought help from Germany, in training some 2000 Finnish young men as elite light infantry soldiers and officers.

¹⁰⁷ for a more thorough discussion, see Tikka, 2009

Nicholas II reign ended with the Russian revolution in 1917. He officially abdicated in March 1917, and he and his family were killed by the Bolsheviks in July, 1918.

3.9.2 THE TEN PRESIDENTS, 1919-2000¹⁰⁸

It was by no means certain that the newly independent Finland would become a republic. After severing ties with Russia, and after various alternating proposals, in 1918 the crown of Finland was offered to the Prince Friedrich Karl of Hesse (who would have ruled with the name of Väinö I). Due to Germany losing the WWI, the prince declined and the offer was withdrawn. Once it was obvious that Finland was to become a republic, it still took nearly two years after the declaration of independence for Finland to have its new constitution, including its Form of Government Act, approved in July 1919. The constitution remained in vigor till 2000.

In the present study the limits of the time span are the chosen by the changes in the constitution of Finland strongly curbing the presidential powers. Whilst it would certainly be interesting to compare the values of the first female president Halonen, it is a matter of future studies. By the same token, also the impact of the even further curbed presidential powers on the expressed values that the current president Mr. Niinistö faces, are definitely a matter of further studies. Even in the public media, the role of the President is seen more and more as that of an ethical leader, a trend-setter in matters related to values.

As Meinander (2010, p. 185) notes, the presidents' ceremonial role was highlighted from the beginning due to the absence of monarchy. Häikiö (2001, p. 503) ascribes causes of the wide powers given to the president by the constitution of 1919 not by the absence of monarchy, but by the turmoil of 1918, after which the public opinion generally shifted in favor of having a strong leader, who could somehow be a bridge builder between factions, and who would be above or outside of the sometimes inflamed party-politics. This is of course reminiscent of the position of the Czars, being above both political parties and seen as guarantors of the stability of social order.

3.9.2.1 *The office of the President: who can rule?*

Presidential elections were carried out by an Electoral College till 1988, at which point a two phase election was used (first direct elections together with 301 electors who then elected the president if no one had won the majority in the first round). In 1991 the law was changed to allow for direct elections, which were used for the first time in the elections of 1994.

¹⁰⁸ For a presentation of the Presidents as leaders, see Tiihonen, Pohls & Korppi-Tommola, 2013

Registered political parties that have won at least one seat in Parliament can nominate a presidential candidate, as can constituency associations formed by 20 000 enfranchised citizens.

The President is currently elected directly by the people of Finland for a term of six years. Since 1991, no President may be elected for more than two consecutive terms. The President must be a native-born Finnish citizen. The Constitution describes the duties and the authority the President has, but naturally the president also has other statutory duties besides those specified in the Constitution. The oath the President swears¹⁰⁹ underlines the fact of being bound by law and the duty to promote the welfare of those the term “Finnish people” covers.

“I, N.N., having been elected President of the Republic of Finland by the people of Finland, hereby affirm that in the execution of my office as President I shall sincerely and faithfully observe the Constitution and laws of the Republic and to the best of my ability promote the success of the Finnish people.”

(OPRF, 2013 b)

According to the Constitution, the President of the Republic of Finland (Finnish: Suomen tasavallan presidentti, Swedish: Republiken Finlands president) is the nation's head of state. The official website of the President of the Republic (OPRF, 2013 b) states the following concerning the duties and position of the President, *“Under the Finnish constitution, executive power is vested in the President and the government. The President of the Republic leads Finland’s foreign policy in co-operation with the Government and decides on Finland’s relations to foreign governments and actions in international organizations or negotiations. The president is Supreme Commander of the Finnish Defense Forces”*.

Since 1995 the President has had his own website at www.presidentti.fi published by the Office of the President of the Republic¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁹ Presidential oaths in general seem to have very similar components with a few common denominators that center around protection/upholding of constitution, the religion of the state, the welfare of the people and/or the protection of a geographical area. For examples see those of the US and Germany:

- USA: “I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.” US Art. 2, Section One, Clause Eight

- Germany: “I swear that I will dedicate my efforts to the well-being of the German people, promote their welfare, protect them from harm, uphold and defend the Basic Law and the laws of the Federation, perform my duties conscientiously, and do justice to all. So help me God.” *Grundgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Art. 56

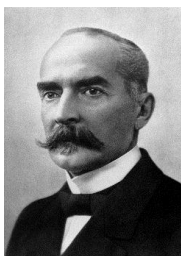
¹¹⁰ from now on referred to by the abbreviation OPRF

The following table shows the political affiliations of the presidents prior to their election.

Table 9. *The political background of the Presidents*

President	Term	Political affiliation
K.J. Ståhlberg	1919-1925	National Progressive Party
L.K. Relander	1925-31	Agrarian League
P.E. Svinhufvud	1931-1937	Conservative (National Coalition Party)
K. Kallio	1937-1940	Agrarian League
R. Ryti	1940-44	National Progressive Party
C.G.E Mannerheim	1944-46	Non-party
J.K. Paasikivi	1946-1956	Conservative (National Coalition Party)
U.K. Kekkonen	1956-1982	Agrarian League (from 1965 called Centre Party)
M. Koivisto	1982-1994	Social Democratic Party of Finland
M. Ahtisaari	1994-2000	Social Democratic Party of Finland

3.9.2.2 K.J. Ståhlberg 1919-1925: the impeccable president



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Dr. Ståhlberg was elected President in 1919 at the age of 54 by the Parliament by 71, 5% of the votes. He had been very actively involved in Finnish politics

and in the academia for decades prior to been elected president. He had helped draft the law that established the Finnish Parliament in 1907, had upheld the cause of universal suffrage as well as strongly supporting the idea of Finland being a republic (against the monarchists, who had in 1918 invited Prince Frederick Karl of Hesse to become the King of Finland). He also supported the idea of direct elections of presidents, but was out-voted by those in favor of the Electoral College (Kirby, 2006). He had been involved in shaping and writing the new constitution as the head of the committee that prepared it (Tiihonen, 1999).

Ståhlberg had also been as a politician the spearhead drawing negative attention from the Czar as the spokesman of the Parliament, often being seen as the cause of new elections (see e.g. the exchange between Ståhlberg and General Governor Böckmann, speaking on behalf of Czar Nicholas II, during the opening of the second Parliament in 1908).

President Ståhlberg was a politically moderate man, seen as tolerantly taking measures to heal the rifts caused by the civil war of 1918, actively seeking to foster political consensus, preferring negotiations to direct wielding of power. This was not easy, as the newly ratified constitution gave the president almost king-like powers, thus implying that the presidents should act the part. Tyynilä (2001, p. 515) also depicts him as a shy man with strongly rooted Protestant values, who at the same time avoided religious references in his speeches. He was perceived as a man who remained “*majestically aloof*” (Tiihonen, 1999, p. 27), which added to the interpretation of the role of president being an arbiter in daily politics rather than an active open participant (for an in-depth discussion, see Hallberg et al., 2009). In terms of political influence, President Ståhlberg shaped not only the letter of the Constitution through his active participation in its formulation, but also, being the first president, showed what it looked like in practice.

In terms of internal politics Ståhlberg’s tenure is characterized by rapidly changing governments (seven in all), in the formation of which his hand was felt heavily. He also sought to disentangle the army from politics. This was a wise move considering the role the army had played in the events leading to the Finnish independence and its aftermath (Tiihonen, 1999). However, this strained the relationships he had with the highest military officials.

Another very controversial decision was to pardon the Red Civil War prisoners, ignoring the strong protest voiced by the White veterans and the army officers. Ståhlberg contributed to the basis of the strong position trade unions have in negotiating labor contracts by signing a bill giving trade unions equal power with the employers’ organizations. Prevalent social concerns, apart from the abovementioned freeing of prisoners, were also addressed by the bill called Lex Kallio. This was a significant law, because it sought to address the problems of the landless rural people (the roots of which go back to the Great Land Parcelling), thus dealing with one of the core components forming the divisions leading to the Civil War, in which

farm workers, socialist industrial workers and the landless rural people had mostly sided with the Reds and the wealthy landowners and the bourgeoisie with the Whites. According to this law, land from the wealthy landowners (owning more than 200-400 hectares) was given to the former tenant farmers and other landless rural people (max. 20 hectares of arable land and 20 hectares of woodland). In addition to political stability, the purpose of this law was to create a more stable middle class, and to ensure the stable growth of agricultural produce (see also Granberg, 1992 ,1995).

The law concerning religious freedom was ratified during his presidency in 1922, granting the right to form religious associations or dominations also to non-Christians, as well as granting the right to follow no religion at all. Another law long time in its making was the law concerning Prohibition of Alcohol, first approved of in 1917, and tightened again in 1922. It remained in vigor till 1932.

Foreign policy issues were also on the forefront, especially the debate with Sweden concerning the Åland Islands. In the end the matter was decided by the League of Nations in favor of Finland retaining sovereignty over the islands, but at the same time the islands were granted quite wide political and cultural autonomy.

President Ståhlberg refused his candidacy for a second term in 1925, but was a candidate again in 1931 and in 1937, albeit without being elected either time.

His perceived political importance is seen for instance in the events surrounding his abduction by right-wing activists in 1930 (who accused him of being a tool in the hands of the Communists and wanted to deport him to Russia), a move sanctioned even by high level military leaders (Hyvämäki, 1969), but which provoked a huge public outcry effectively turning the public against the more extreme forms of right wing activities in Finland at the time.

President Ståhlberg spent his post-presidential life actively involved in politics: as a Member of Parliament 1930-32, and as a senior member of the Law Drafting Committee till his retirement in 1946. He also operated in a more behind the scenes role, e.g. functioning as a legal advisor to President Paasikivi (Tyynilä, 2001).

3.9.2.3 L.K. Relander, 1925-31



Copyright: The Finnish Defence Forces

Relander became the second president of the newly established Republic. Relander was elected president in January 1925 by the Electoral College in third round by 172 votes out of 300. He was only 41. Before being actively involved in politics, he had worked for many years as a researcher in agriculture. His political career had begun in the Agrarian Party in 1907; he was elected to the Parliament in 1910, and by 1917 he was already one of the leaders of the Agrarian Party (the others being the future President Kallio, and Santeri Alkio, the founder of the Agrarian party). He had the strong support from the Karelian part of the Agrarian party as he had been the Governor of the Wyborg province. He was perceived as a strong spokesman for the farmers and their interests (Vasara, 2013).

President Relander's youth and inexperience in national politics made it easy for him to be compared to Ståhlberg to the latter's advantage (see e.g. Hallberg et al., 2009). He is reported to have disliked conflicts, and was therefore often accused of lacking of convictions or strong political line (Pietiäinen, 2001) and to be swayed by pressure (Kirby, 2006). The main newspaper, Helsingin Sanomat, and its strong man Erkkö were very antagonistic towards President Relander throughout his presidency, which might have influenced the public perception of him and his policies.

President Relander's assets were his ability to negotiate and mediate (Hallberg et al., 2009). His softer attitude and non-authoritarian way of leadership also strengthened the idea of collective leadership and parliamentarism as such. President Relander supported parliamentarism as a model, which, however, for him did not mean including the communists in the political scene. He did not include communists as an object of the reconciliation efforts either (Vasara, 2013), but continued to view them as a threat to the independence as he had perceived them to be in 1917/1918. Due to the pressure he did not prevent or oppose to the arrest of the 23 communist members of Parliament on the grounds of treason (Kirby, 2006).

In seeking to foster unity, though, he had no such qualms about the Social Democrats, of which the minority government of V. Tanner as Prime Minister is an example. This government also saw the first woman as a Minister. President Relander nominated Miina Sillanpää as the Minister of

Social Affairs in 1926. On a whole this was quite a radical move, as the leftist parties only a decade before had been in rebellion against the government in the Finnish civil war. It also resulted in real steps being made towards national unity, which can be seen a part of his legacy.

President Relander continued the neutrality politics in terms of foreign policy, and he was keen to maintain good relationships with the surrounding countries, the Baltic and Nordic countries in particular. The amount of his state visits to foreign countries (which by modern standards was very contained; being five in all) drew a lot of criticism, and he was given the nickname Reissu-Lassi ('Travelling Larry'). However, Vasara (2013) argues that Relander correctly captured the necessity for a young republic to make itself known and established also through these state visits. He travelled also extensively in Finland: being a good speaker, he was invited to give talks more often than his predecessor, which also caused a lot of criticism, as the president was seen as too personable.

Relander's presidency coincided with the rise of right-wing radicalism both in Europe in general as well as in Finland. Of all the small independent countries established after the WWI, Finland maintained its democratic form of government without resorting to dictatorship as happened in some other countries. Anti-communist attitudes were getting stronger and more vocal, and in the beginning the President backed up even such extremist movements as the so called Lapua-movement was. This cost him his second term, as the Agrarian Party chose as their candidate President Relander's opponent, Kyösti Kallio in 1931. President Relander's last years of presidency were politically not very effective, as he was overshadowed by Prime Minister Svinhufvud, whom the Lapua-movement had insisted should replace Kallio.

After his presidency President Relander was not actively involved in politics, and until recently his legacy has been viewed in quite negative terms (Pietiäinen, 2001), especially because of his stance on the right wing movement. The newly published biography (Vasara, 2013) seeks to give a more balanced view, and lists as his achievements, enhancing Finland's security by making overt efforts to have good relationships especially with the surrounding countries, making Finland known abroad in general, and making real contribution by opening the doors for the Social democrats to be an integral art of the Finnish political life. President Relander died in 1942 at the age of 58.

3.9.2.4 P.E. Svinhufvud, 1931-1937



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When he was elected President in 1931 at the age of 59, Svinhufvud, a nobleman from Sääksmäki, was already a seasoned political veteran: he had been the first head-of-state of the independent Republic of Finland as both the Chairman of the Senate supervising the formation of the new constitution and as Regent Protector of the State (see Table 8). His main opponent was the former President Ståhlberg, whom he narrowly won (by 2 votes margin).

Svinhufvud had been most visible opponent of the Russian rule the Regent of Finland right after the Civil war in 1918 (May to December), and as the Chairman of the then Senate had been instrumental in the whole process of the formation of the declaration of independence. He had strongly favored the monarchy, and therefore resigned after it became clear that Finland would become a Republic instead. As the Chairman of the Senate, Svinhufvud had also very clearly profiled himself as “White” and therefore anti-communist, even though he issued pardons to some 36 000 Red prisoners at the end of 1918.

Svinhufvud started his presidency from a much stronger position than his predecessor in terms of political clout and position. He was much better equipped than his predecessor had been to put an effective end to the escalation of the anti-democratic tendencies evident in the right wing radical movements, as he had already dealt with some of the most extreme forms during being the Prime Minister 1930-31.

President Svinhufvud was able not to give in either to the communists or to the excessive demands of the right wing extremists, even though his political opinions leaned right. During the so-called Mäntsälä- rebellion, he gave a radio talk in which he urged to the people “obeying *the law*, to go back home...” (Svinhufvud, 1932/1936). This speech in effect turned the tide for the right-wing extremists and the Lapua- movement, which was dismantled soon after and its leaders brought to trial. He clearly understood and had even before this used the new technology (in the form of the radio) to further his and the Governments causes.

In 1935 after a national reconciliation week President Svinhufvud started the practice of giving a New Year’s Speech to the nation, with the intent of

this being a sign on unity and cohesion. The oldest existing radio recording in Finland is this speech (Perälä & Lindfors, 2010).

President Svinhufvud was not elected again. His post presidential life coincided with the onset of the WWII, and he died in 1944 at the age of 83.

3.9.2.5 K. Kallio, 1937-1940



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Kallio had been involved in politics a long time when he was elected president (at the age of 64) with the votes of the Center right and the Social Democrats, a sign of the successful bridging of political differences (Hokkanen, 2001). This was of paramount importance, seeing that the signs of international unrest leading to WW II were already in the air. Hokkanen sustains that Kallio's main interest was to strengthen independency by promoting social and economic equality through land reform¹¹¹, settlement policy, and by supporting education and culture in Finnish (ibid. p.545).

Kallio came from a rural background, and therefore his election was also a sign of changing times, as a harbinger of the farmers' position as the new ruling elite (Tiihonen, 1999). He was not highly educated, as he had not finished high-school, nor did he have an academic degree, but he was an exceptionally good farmer.

Tiihonen (1999, p.30) calls him a representative of a completely new kind of political leader. He was perceived to be a man of the people, calm and impartial: even in the midst of the Civil War he was calling for a Finland where there was room for all. However, he was staunch anti-communist, considering them a danger to the nation. As a president, he travelled extensively throughout Finland in order to meet the people, which added to his popularity and to the perception of him as "just a regular guy". He was a teetotaler, and a religious man (Hokkanen, 2001).

As a President, Kallio had more a parliamentary way of governing than his predecessors, probably due to his long career as a Member of Parliament.

¹¹¹ Lex Kallio in 1922 had granted the tenant farmers and landless people the possibility to buy land and small farms for themselves.

This influenced also his concept of foreign policy¹¹² and leadership in it, which then proved to be problematic at the onset of the Winter War in 1939 (Tiihonen, 1999). The constitution clearly stated that the President leads foreign policy. President Kallio left the actual leadership more to the ministers, but he took the role of boosting the morale of the nation seriously, as well as encouraging the people to endure (cf. Hallberg et al., 2009). Furthermore, at the onset of the Winter War, President Kallio nominated Mannerheim the Commander-in-Chief of the Finnish troops, a position traditionally belonging to the president himself.

He was at this time already seriously ill. He died on the same day he had signed his presidency over to his successor, President Ryti.

3.9.2.6 R. Ryti, 1940-44



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President Ryti¹¹³, a former lawyer and head of the bank of Finland, was the Prime Minister at the time of his election in 1940, and had *de facto* already for some time taken care of the tasks of the President as President Kallio's illness worsened. Ryti's election was therefore no surprise. Ryti was highly intelligent, not given to emotions, and in general a brilliantly logical strong leader (Tiihonen, 1999). He was elected for a second term in 1943.

President Ryti faced the Continuation War with part of presidential powers already signed away, President Kallio having nominated Mannerheim as the Commander-in-chief, and President Ryti did not rescind it. Because of his experience and previous foreign relationships, Ryti was a strong leader in foreign policy.

In 1943, it became clear that Finland needed options of how to get out of the war. The personalization of foreign policy in the person of the President meant nevertheless that when Finland made peace with the Soviet Union in 1944, President Ryti took the blame of having made the agreements with Germany (the sc. Ribbentrop agreement), acting as the scapegoat so that

¹¹²cf. Salokangas, 1987.

¹¹³ For a biography, see Turtola, 1994.

Mannerheim could become the next President, being “untainted” by having made agreements with the Germans.

President Ryti was condemned after the war in the “war guilt” trials for ten years in prison, and was imprisoned. He was pardoned by President Paasikivi in 1949, long after others who had also been condemned in the trials. Although the official rehabilitation of his name has been very slow, his treatment has popularly always been regarded as unfair. He stayed out of the public eye, but remained a popular figure till his death in 1956.

3.9.2.7 C.G.E Mannerheim, 1944-46



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Baron Mannerheim's election as the first post-war president was meant to be a sign also to the Allied forces. He became the symbol of independent Finland, both within the country and in the foreign policy arena as well, Tiihonen sustains (Tiihonen, 1999, p. 32-33). Baron Mannerheim was 77 years old when he became president. Tiihonen lists as the central tenets of his presidency a strong reliance and implementation of the Constitution, a compliant attitude toward the Soviet Union, and opening the political arena up for new actors. The real day-to-day power was in the hands of the Prime Minister Paasikivi, who undoubtedly also shaped the above mentioned policies.

Whether due to his aristocratic background, his upbringing in the Russian court, his short presidency has even later been portrayed in similar terms as the reign of the Czars. Already during the military campaign his “Orders of the day” were later published as books (cf. Kaskimies, 1942; Selén, 2008), and the one he gave in May 1942 titled, “To the mothers of Finland” is still displayed in many churches, underlining again the tight bonds between the Church and the state (cf. Tilli, 2009).

President Mannerheim's health deteriorated and he resigned in 1946. He died in 1951 in Switzerland. His funeral was a massive event, the estimate is that some 150 000 people participated in the funeral procession.

Mannerheim's legacy as a President is impossible to separate from his legacy as one of the most central figures in the creation the independent

Finland¹¹⁴, and he has even been called the “Father of Finland”. His military career, started in the Russian Imperial Army¹¹⁵ (even participating in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5), spanned all four wars fought by Finland during its independence, making him an icon of Finnish military history¹¹⁶. There have been some more critical voices recently (cf. Suomi, 2013) questioning both his career as a President and his military decisions, but a balanced view awaits further research.

3.9.2.8 J.K. Paasikivi, 1946-1956



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Prime Minister Paasikivi was elected president at the resignation of President Mannerheim in 1946 by the vote of the Parliament, when President Paasikivi himself was already 75 years old. He had behind him a long political career; he had been involved in politics already during the Grand Duchy. Polvinen (2001, p. 587) comments that, “*Paasikivi had embraced the Hegelian-Snellmanian view of the crucial importance of language and nationality in history*”. According to Polvinen, Paasikivi also supported the view articulated by professor Danielsson-Kalmari, which stressed a policy of appeasement in Finland’s relations with Russia. “*From him Paasikivi acquired the idea that all groups within society, regardless of their linguistic and social background, had to be mobilized in defense of Finnish autonomy*” (ibid. p.587). These ideas, which Paasikivi had absorbed as a young scholar colored his entire career and even his presidency.

President Paasikivi was also in the good graces of the Soviet Union, as he had managed to stay away from tight relationships with the Germans. He already in 1942 surmised that the Allies would win the war with their superior military resources. Combined with his long-held convictions of the importance of Finland’s geopolitical position also as a factor in domestic

¹¹⁴ cf. Klinge, 2001.

¹¹⁵ His military prowess had also been noted by the Czar Nicholas II, in whose coronation ceremony he was present (The Mannerheim museum, <http://www.mannerheim-museo.fi/mm.php?page=marsalkka&lang=eng>).

¹¹⁶ Even the title ‘Marshal of Finland’ has been given only to him.

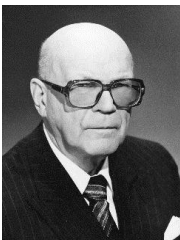
politics, President Paasikivi recognized the security interests the Soviet Union as real and therefore to be taken seriously by the Finns in their policy making, be it foreign policy or domestic. His presidency is in fact characterized by the stabilizing of the relations with the Soviet Union, especially through the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance (FMCA treaty) Stalin had proposed in 1948. The treaty was signed for ten years initially, but it was renewed many times, and it colored Finnish politics till it was ended at the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1992.

In 1955 Finland joined both the Nordic Council and the United Nations. By the end of Paasikivi's presidency Finland also had paid in full all the reparations, and had also dealt successfully e.g. with the settling of the Karelian refugees.

President Paasikivi's legacy to the presidential system itself was that under his tenure the idea became firmly established that the president has a vital role in foreign policy, above all as a guarantor of national interests. This pointed in the direction of the strong presidency advocated already in the 1920s, as well as paving the way for the kind of president his successor President Kekkonen turned out to be. President Paasikivi also maintained (as did President Kekkonen after him) that foreign policy must be separated from ideologies, and be governed by geopolitical realities instead (Tiihonen, 1999).

President Paasikivi did not stand for a third presidency in 1956, and actually died later that year.

3.9.2.9 U.K. Kekkonen, 1956-1982



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Like his predecessors, President Kekkonen had been born during the time when Finland had still been under Russia as a Grand Duchy. He had also had an active role in the Civil War of 1918, siding with Whites, a leaning that was continued in his membership of the far-right Academic Karelia Society till 1932, when the Society was started to plan what would have amounted to a

coup d'état¹¹⁷. Kekkonen joined the Agrarian League (future Center Party) in 1933. He had stood candidate for President already in 1950, but was defeated by the incumbent President Paasikivi.

In 1956 the then Prime Minister¹¹⁸ Kekkonen was elected President by a very narrow vote (151-149, defeating the Social Democrat candidate Fagerholm). He was elected again in 1962, in 1968, and in 1973 he was given a term extension of four years. By that time all real political opposition to his presidency had been eliminated, and his ruled was uncontested. In 1978 he was elected for the fifth time, but his health was deteriorating¹¹⁹, and in October 1981 President Kekkonen resigned. Prime Minister Koivisto became the acting President.

President Kekkonen's authority stemmed also from the support he received from the Soviet Union (a view which he himself actively upheld, see Tiihonen, 1999; Hallberg et al., 2009). There was a tacit agreement that he was the only acceptable President from the Soviet point of view already early on in his presidency.

During the most critical years (1958-1962) of the Cold War from the Finnish perspective, Kekkonen managed twice to thwart direct threats coming from the Soviet Union. The latter crisis cemented his almost king-like powers¹²⁰, and legitimated his position as the only one who could also in domestic politics decide which parties can participate in the Government and which have to be kept in opposition.

He used the sc. "Moscow card" also in controlling the media, so that no information which would have been seen as openly detrimental to the good standing Finland had with the Soviet Union could be voiced¹²¹, leading e.g. to self-censorship in the most important journals. President Kekkonen commented actively on daily politics, often under the pseudonym of Pekka Peitsi. He also saw the President (i.e. himself) as "*responsible for Finland's fate*" (Hallberg et al. 2009, p. 264).

On the whole, the acquiescent policy towards the Soviet Union earned Finland the questionable honor of being the root word for the term "Finlandization"¹²², a term used in international politics depicting a small countries relationship to a larger one, when the former tries not to upset the latter in order to maintain its sovereignty.

¹¹⁷ The plan was foiled and the movement (Lapua Movement) behind it disbanded.

¹¹⁸ In his 5th term as Prime Minister, making him one of the politically most experienced presidents. He had also been Speaker of Parliament

¹¹⁹ He was affected by dementia; a fact, which was on official secret(Palo, 1999).

¹²⁰ cf. Arter, 1981

¹²¹ affecting also academic research, cf. the critic launched against e.g. Anckar, 1984.

¹²² see Mouritzen, 1988

Kekkonen continued the “active neutrality” policy of President Paasikivi (also known as the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line¹²³), and maintained that by placing itself actively between the West and the East, Finland could not only maintain its independence, but also act as a broker for peace. In 1969 he was the main organizer of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, a forerunner of the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), which admittedly was the highest point of his career and peacemaking efforts. His role as a skillful politician and negotiator has been recognized, and, placing his efforts in the context of their times, underlines their value and effectiveness (Hallberg et al., 2009).

In terms of commerce, the stand President Kekkonen adopted meant that Finland could have commercial relationships with both the Western countries, as well as with countries of the Warsaw Pact. This fuelled Finnish economy, and lead to sustained economic growth.

Kekkonen was adamantly opposed to the redefinition of the role of the President (Burman, 2006), and therefore the main reforms took place after his presidency. Apart from the reforms relating more to the advance of parliamentarianism, the presidential terms were limited to two consecutive ones, thus making it impossible to develop a similar “presidential kingship” Kekkonen built. His political legacy is still under considerable academic and popular debate¹²⁴. However, many of the reforms can be seen as a desire to move the pattern of power to a more democratic direction again (cf. Hallberg et al., 2009; Paloheimo, 2003).

3.9.2.10 M. Koivisto, 1982-1994



Copyright: The Finnish Defence Forces

President Koivisto was the first President who had been born when Finland was already an independent Republic. He was also the first one not to have a personal historical link with fighting either Reds or Whites. During the Continuation war Koivisto served at the front in the 35th Light Infantry

¹²³ This was also a rhetoric device to underline the similarities between the two President, aptly used by President Kekkonen

¹²⁴ cf. Hallberg et. al. 2009; Häikiö, 2001;

Regiment in Eastern Karelia. Allegedly his wartime experiences also influenced his later outlook on life greatly.

Koivisto had been Prime Minister twice when he was elected President in 1982, the first Social Democrat to hold the office. He was popular well over party lines (Soikkanen, 2001). One of the reasons for this was that he was seen as essentially different from President Kekkonen. Also, his personal life history,¹²⁵ made him very popular, and made him to be perceived as one who understands working people, closer to them than the king-like President Kekkonen. After a heated campaign¹²⁶, President Koivisto was elected for a second term in 1988.

During his term in office, there were major changes both international and domestic political scene: the dismantling of the Communist bloc, and the severe domestic recession and banking crisis. Although he initially followed the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line, President Koivisto made changes in the way Finland related to the former WW II Allies by unilaterally renouncing the terms of Paris peace treaty in 1990, and by ending the FMCA treaty, which had been in vigor from 1948. A subsequent new treaty with Russia did not have military obligations. Also, due to President Koivisto's personal initiative, Ingrian Finns (as well as other Soviet citizens with Finnish ancestry) were allowed¹²⁷ in 1990 to immigrate to Finland as returnees.¹²⁸ This resulted in some 25 000 people moving, although the exact number is unknown.

An important part of foreign policy was also the opening towards the EU after the collapse of the Soviet Union, which President Koivisto strongly supported. He started the process, and oversaw the making of the agreements¹²⁹, even though Finland officially joined the EU in 1995 under President Ahtisaari.

President Koivisto also took a much different stand than his predecessor President Kekkonen to questions of the use of political power, preferring a less authoritarian approach, working from behind the scenes. This was by no means an absentee stand; it meant that he preferred not to be seen as an authoritarian figure, for which he was also criticized, especially in relation to the severe recession of 1991-93, marring his popularity ratings, as he was

¹²⁵ Born to a poor family with religious roots, he lost his mother at early age. He started to work quite young, finishing his schooling only after the end of the war as an adult, he nevertheless succeeded in continuing his studies, later obtaining a PhD in Sociology, and becoming a banker and Minister of Finance, and subsequently Prime Minister, before becoming President.

¹²⁶ see Paastela, 1988

¹²⁷ This ended by the decision of the Parliament in 2011.

¹²⁸ The socio-psychological consequences of this have been subject of much research with international implications, cf. Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1999; Lönnqvist et al., 2011; Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2012; Varjonen et al. 2013

¹²⁹ see Raunio & Wiberg, 2001.

seen as responsible for allowing the unemployment figures to soar by not pushing for creating temporary public-sector jobs.

President Koivisto's political legacy in terms of the office of the President lies mainly in the support he gave to the reinterpretation of the powers of the President, supporting the reform that led to the new Constitution of 2000.

3.9.2.11 M. Ahtisaari, 1994-2000



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President Ahtisaari is the first Finnish President to be chosen by direct vote, with 53% of voters backing him. His election was not as party politics based as the previously presidential elections had been, seeing that President Ahtisaari's career had mainly been a diplomatic one.

President Ahtisaari was born just before the WW II broke out. As a young teacher in 1960 he set out to Karachi, Pakistan to become the manager of a students' home, the first of his many international assignments. Prior to being president he already had a long diplomatic career behind him, including being the UN's under-secretary-general for administration and financial matters and commissioner for Namibia. He was also closely involved in the process which led to Namibia's independence as a special representative of the UN secretary-general (Heikkilä, 2001).

However, in his presidential campaign President Ahtisaari managed to convey his interest in domestic affairs by travelling extensively. Even during his presidency he kept visiting various Finnish provinces, and continued to interact during them directly with the citizens, making him a more approachable president. Hallberg et al. (2009, pp. 330-331) also argue that the fact that the presidential elections were direct, and that there had been a reform of the presidential powers making the Parliament much stronger, moved the whole presidency into a more rhetorical direction, in which the speeches and the public appearances were the medium of wielding presidential powers more than before. However, they also conclude that President Ahtisaari aimed at influencing the financial and academic elite, more so than the people in general (basing their analysis on the target audiences of his speeches and public appearances).

In terms of foreign policy, President Ahtisaari has been in favor of Finland being actively involved in the international arena, e.g. the EU. After a referendum in October 1994, Finland joined the EU in 1995. President Ahtisaari has also voiced being in favor of Finland joining the NATO. When the discussion of whether Finland also should join the financial union of the EU, the EMU, President Ahtisaari regarded this decision a pragmatic one (Hallberg et al., 2009), of which he was in favor.

President Ahtisaari did not stand again in the 2000 elections. He has continued to be part of the international peace building scene also through the NGO he founded in 2000, Crisis Management Initiative. He was involved in the peace talks in Indonesia, which together with other successfully negotiated peace processes paved the way for President Ahtisaari receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 2008.

4 THE MATERIALS: PUBLIC SPEECHES HELD BY RULERS

There is a long tradition of public speeches rulers hold in their official capacity, and the interest in rulers' public speeches has been keen, ever since the times of the Greek. The most well-known modern speeches of this category are undoubtedly the State of the Union speeches held by the President of the U.S. since 1790. For this study I wanted to find a similar kind of cultural relevance on one hand, and on the other the speeches also needed to be grounded in their time and context.

The speech types were chosen based on the speeches being

- (1) aimed at the entire nation,
- (2) public,
- (3) regularly occurring,
- (4) given by the ruler, in his name¹³⁰, or with his authorization, and
- (5) spanning as much of the entire period as possible.

Using these criteria three main speech types were chosen, for all of which there are written records of the speeches: Prayer Day Declarations, Parliament Opening Speeches and New Year's Speeches.

In addition, 12 other important speeches (see section 4.4 for details) were included (N = 12) in the analysis for greater accuracy in assessing the general use of values, for statistical purposes, to have a more complete timeline, and to have more data concerning the pivot points. Also, they fulfill most of the criteria above (the exception being criteria (3), and partially (5)), in addition to adding to the otherwise existing gap from 1907 till 1917.

To my knowledge, no previous social psychological research has been done on these sources as a whole, whilst there have been various studies, both linguistic and content-wise, of parts of them (cf. Hallberg et al., 2009; Heikkinen, 2006a, 2006b, 2010; Kettunen, 2003; Palmén, 1916; Saarenheimo, 1964). Prayer Day Declarations have been used to study the formation of civil religion, especially in the 1980s they were the subject of much socio-theological research (for a list of principal actors, cf. Kyyrö, 2013).

¹³⁰ All the rulers in this study were male, hence the use of the masculine pronoun.

The following table shows the final number of speeches included in the present study divided by polity.

Table 10. *Speech types*

Speech type	Grand Duchy, N	Independence, N	Total, N
Prayer Day Declaration (PDD)	91	82	173
Parliament Opening Speech (POS)	16	88	104
New Year's Speech (NYS)	-	66	66
Other speeches (OTH)	6	6	12

The different speech types provide different contexts in which the rulers have the opportunity to address the nation, and the speeches have played both similar and complementary roles in communicating the rulers' opinions to the population¹³¹.

Naturally the function of these speech types has changed during the period under focus: Prayer Day Declarations no longer reflect the political intrusion of the State into the affairs of the Church; New Year's Speeches have become an institution instead of being a crowning event for conciliatory efforts; and Parliament Opening Speeches have a more prescribed content as well rather than being a general comment of the state of the Republic.

In the following sections the different speech types will be looked at more closely. The following table 11 summarizes the characteristics of the speeches.

¹³¹ Regardless of who actually wrote them, they were presented by the rulers in person, or as their utterances, read by their representatives or transmitted as texts proceeding from the rulers (e.g. as was the case for Prayer Day Declarations).

Table 11. Speech types and their characteristics

Speech type	Years of occurrence included in this study	By whom	To whom (based on textual evidence)	How promulgated	Purpose
Prayer Day Declarations N= 173	1812-1901, 1917-1999	Czar (and/or speechwriters), Senate, Government, President and Minister of Education. The Bible verses of the declarations probably chosen by the Archbishop's office in Turku	All Lutheran Finns/the whole nation/ all Christian citizens	Read aloud in churches, published in the official magazine, part of the yearly collection of laws and statutes, Bible verses in all major newspapers	Issuing political comments and statements Maintenance of national cohesion Creation of civil religion and national identity, Underlining the link between the State and the Church
Parliament Opening Speeches, N=104	1809, 1863-2000	Czar, President, and exceptions (1923), speechwriters role unclear	The Diet, Members of Parliament, the nation	Official newspapers, first also churches and as part of the yearly collection of laws and statutes	Setting the political stage, highlighting the work ahead, motivating the Parliament's work, outlining foreign policy questions
New Year's Speeches N=66	1935-2000	President him/herself, four exceptions (1942,1944,1945, and 1993)	All citizens	Radio, TV, national newspapers	Strengthening of national unity and cohesion, formation of national identity, commenting on "the state of the Republic",
Other N=12	1894 (N=2), 1899, 1908-09, 1911, 1917, 1918 (N=5)	Czar, Senate	All citizens	Newspapers, read aloud in churches, pinned on noticeboards in public places	Making political statements, mainly in times of transition

4.1 PRAYER DAY DECLARATIONS

Prayer Days have their origin in the so called quatember days or Ember days (Latin “*ieiunia quattuor temporum*”) dating back to the 4th century AD (Koskenvesa, 1969; Lempiäinen 2000; Östlund 2007). These days were celebrated four times a year as special days dedicated to prayer, penitence, fasting and thanksgiving.

After the Reformation the tradition was continued and became associated with political powers. In Sweden (and thus in Finland) they were celebrated regularly from 1544 (by the decree of King Gustav Wasa). From 1620s onwards, the declarations were regularly given out by the Swedish Monarch. After Finland passed under Russian rule, the PDDs were not celebrated from 1809-1811, till at the request of the Finns, Alexander I agreed to continue the tradition in 1812. The declarations set Finland apart from other ethnic groups or nations of the Grand Duchy, as they were directed only to the Czar’s Finnish Lutheran subjects, thus also strengthening the forming of civil religion, or what has also been termed the union of the altar and the throne (see e.g. Vuorela, 1980; Östlund, 2007¹³²).

Prayer Day Declarations were part of the statutes and laws of the Grand Duchy and then later the Republic of Finland. The declarations were read aloud from the pulpit in churches, which were the media hub for much of the 19th century, as church attendance was compulsory, and as the churches especially in the countryside continued to be centers of municipal administration as well. The declarations were usually read aloud around New Year, and as the four prayer days were interspersed throughout the year, the continuous interweaving of State and Church was further strengthened. Lutheran Christianity was the *de facto* state religion, even after the 1923 law concerning religious freedom was passed (the official separation of Church and State had had its beginning in the 1870s, and the constitution of 1919 officially separated the two). This tie continues to be in vigor also through the annual rituals linking the two (e.g. the solemn worship service at the Parliament opening, attended by the highest State authorities, President, Prime Minister and Members of Parliament).

The associated Bible passages served to direct the sermons, and as such were additions to the ordinary texts of the normal ecclesiastical calendar. In this present study I have not taken into consideration these Bible texts themselves (but for a discussion of the political implications, see Östlund 2007).

From 1812-1831 the Prayer Day Declarations were given out by the Czar¹³³, from 1831-1917 the giver was the Senate, albeit in the name of the Czar. 1918-1931 they were given out by the government and from 1931

¹³² Östlund (2007) has used the Swedish PDDs to study the legitimization of power in the rhetoric usage of the Swedish kings.

¹³³ For Alexander I, see Råbergh, 1920.

onwards the President signed them, usually co-signing with the Minister of Education. The preparation of the declaration itself gradually shifted to an ecumenical committee from 1980s onwards, even though they were still signed by the President and given out as part of the legal code. They gradually lost their political significance in the 20th century, as other means of communication became more important, and as the state church became more divorced from the political sphere, but they continued to be given out by the president and signed also by the Minister of Education having the status of being part of the legal code till 2003.

4.2 PARLIAMENT OPENING SPEECHES (POS)

Parliament Opening Speeches have had a special role in Finnish politics ever since the famous speech by Alexander I during the Porvoo Diet in 1809. They have been the most prestigious speech with which the rulers addressed the nation, at least till the tradition of the New Year's Speeches was established.

Their role has been that of stage setting, defining the political status and agenda of the country for the year ahead, the only speech the President would hold regularly in the Parliament. Tiitinen (2006, p. 10), the General Secretary of the Parliament, says that the speeches mirror the current societal lie of the land, "*and even more so during Independence*".

The opening of the Parliament is and has been a very solemn occasion, of which the Opening Speeches have been an integral part of the opening ceremony¹³⁴. The opening speeches were always met with a reply given by the Spokesman of the Parliament. However these responses have been excluded from this study, in order to maintain comparability with the other speech types.

4.3 NEW YEAR'S SPEECHES (NYS)

The New Year's Speeches were started in 1935 as week of reconciliation was celebrated, and their original role was to be a part of a bridging process, whereby the President tried to set the stage so that the deeply antagonistic sides of society would be held together being presented with a common goal (Heikkinen, 2010; Häikiö, 2010). The antagonism was caused not only by the civil war, but also by the deeply felt linguistic divisions (Finnish vs. Swedish).

These speeches are directed at building a civil society, based on law strengthened by a sense of national belonging. These speeches were mostly written by the presidents themselves (Heikkinen, 2010). Four of the New Year's Speeches were not held by the sitting President.

¹³⁴ A part of these ceremonies is also a special worship service at the main cathedral of Helsinki, in which the President and all the Members of Parliament participate. This tradition is still in vigor.

The following table presents the speeches held by somebody other than the President.

Table 12. *New Year's Speeches held by others (not the President)*

Year	Speaker
1942	Parliament Speaker Hakkila
1944	Prime Minister Linkomies
1945	Minister Pekkala
1993	Prime Minister Aho

4.4 OTHER DECLARATIONS AND SPEECHES (OTH)

In order to ensure the maximum coverage on the grounds of either time or political significance, (or both), the following speeches were also included in the final analysis.

Table 13. *Other speeches included in the study*

YEAR	Speech type	Giver/Speaker
1894	Declaration of Ascension to the throne	Nicholas II
1894	Declaration of an Additional Prayer Day	Nicholas II
1899	Declaration of Finland's Unity with Russia 1899, i.e. the so called February Manifesto	Nicholas II
1908	(response to) Parliament Opening Speech	Parliament Speaker Svinhufvud
1909	(response to) Parliament Opening Speech	Parliament Speaker Svinhufvud
1911	(response to) Parliament Opening Speech	Parliament Speaker Svinhufvud
1917	Declaration of Independence	Senate
1918	Declaration of War of Independence	Senate
1918	General call to assist the Senate's troops during the War of Independence	Senate
1918	General call to arms during the War of Independence	Senate
1918	General exhortation to the population fighting	Senate/H. Renvall
1918	Declaration of end of the War of Independence	Senate

5 HYPOTHESES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the theoretical background and the socio-political context, the following research questions and hypotheses have been formulated.

Given that leaders acting as gatekeepers of the societies they lead shape and uphold the social identity of the group (in this case, the nation) through rituals (such as recurring public speeches), voicing the prototypical beliefs and motivations of the group, i.e. value expressions.

Which values are mentioned in the rulers' speeches? How are the values talked about? Will the values be talked about in such a way that motivationally related values will be talked about together?

Based on the universality¹³⁵ of the requirements posed by the general human condition from which values in STV are posited to stem (Schwartz, 1992), in this study it is hypothesized that SVT values are present in the speeches throughout the entire time period (1809-2000). I also assume that the Non-SVT values are similarly present throughout, only more so when the speakers are Finnish (Helkama, 2009; Helkama & Seppälä, 2006).

Based on the posited value congruence, I expect that values might be talked about in such a way that motivationally related values will be talked about together (Schwartz, 1992), but taking into account the nature of the speeches, the need to address varying audiences, and the way natural speech is structured, I expect there also to be instances in which co-occurring values are motivationally not close.

Are there differences between speeches or speakers?

There are two forces at work in the content of the speeches' values. On one hand, the same ruler is the giver of all speeches in the same year, and therefore, it could be expected that there would not be any great variation between speech types, as values are a stable motivational disposition (Schwartz 1992). The differences between rulers' values will also be influenced by life events (e.g. Sortheix et al. 2012).

On the other hand, taking into account the context of each of these speech types, it could be expected that there would be differences in speech types especially in regard to Spirituality values. Prayer Day Declarations, albeit not being sermons, yet occur in a formal ecclesiastical context; Parliaments Opening Speeches' content are to a degree influenced by the law (Tiitinen, 2007) and their setting; while New Year's Speeches seem to be free from any outer formal restrictions, yet their timing and origin (starting only in 1935 as a form of conciliatory efforts by the President) form a context influencing the expected content as well (Heikkinen & Hurme, 2006).

¹³⁵ i.e. unbound by either temporal or geographical distinctions

Work has always been of great importance in the Finnish context (Helkama, 2009), and a basis for social approval and upward mobility, encoded even in songs and folk tales. Therefore it could be expected that Work-related values would show a greater frequency of mention as the speeches are held by people of Finnish origin (i.e. the Presidents), who have been socialized early on to this concept of emphasis on the intrinsic value of work.

In addition, due to the social stability produced by hard-working citizens, it can be assumed that Work-related values correlate positively with Conservation values during the Grand Duchy (due to the importance of the maintenance of the status quo associated with the autocratic polity under Czars), and more with Achievement during Independence, as democratization makes individualism more important, and increases the importance of Openness-to-Change values (Schwartz & Sagie 2000). Therefore the Czars will speak of work in a different way than Presidents, even if the social stability produced by hard-working citizens would be important also from a non-Protestant ruler point of view.

Spirituality values will be present throughout, but as with Work-related values, the correlations will differ in time, so that Spirituality values will correlate in an increasingly positive manner with Benevolence as the socio-economic wellbeing increases (Saroglou et al., 2004). Based on Saroglou et al., it can be assumed that the rulers who score high on Spirituality also score high on Conformity and Tradition, but low on Stimulation and Self-Direction, Hedonism, Achievement and Power. The correlation with Universalism will be negative.

Albeit there are conflicting theories and findings on secularization, it can be assumed that based on the concept of differentiation (Martin 2005) that references to Spirituality become increasingly disassociated from their legitimating function and also from Conservation values towards the end of the period under scrutiny, as also Saroglou et al. (2004) imply based on their meta-analysis.

Based on previous research on education (see e.g. Schwartz et al. 2001), I expect Education values to correlate positively with Self-Direction and Stimulation values due to the component of learning being associated with intellectual openness, and with active acquisition of new skills. The relation to Conservation values is less clear, as in Schwartz et al. education correlates negatively with Conservation values, but if in Finland Education values are part of national identity (Roccas et al, 2010), it could be hypothesized that they then correlate positively with Conformity or Tradition values.

Given that values are hierarchically organized, which values are prioritized?

Based on Schwartz & Bardi (2008) it can be assumed that Benevolence and Universalism values would be the most important throughout, but that the order of other values would fluctuate in accordance to historical/political events, especially that of the sc. deficit values, Security and Power.

Security values will be higher when there are threats to national security (Verkasalo et al, 2006), whereas Power values will be higher when there is a war or a similar threat to national sovereignty or economy (Bilsky & Schwartz, 1994).

Overall the value priorities are expected to follow the pan-cultural order (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001), but modified by the twin forces of socio-economic growth and democratization (see below). Based on previous Finnish studies (see Table 4) it can be expected that Self-Direction occupies a lower position in the value hierarchy than it does in the pan-cultural hierarchy. The importance of Work-related values will grow (see above), whereas Spirituality values will be more important during the Grand Duchy period.

What kind of change can be detected in the values?¹³⁶ To what historical periods are the changes connected?

Based on Schwartz & Sagie (2000), I assume that Conformity, Tradition, Security, and Power values decrease in importance as the Finnish society move towards a higher level of socio-economic development and a greater measure of democratization, whereas the importance of Stimulation, Self-Direction, and Hedonism values will increase.

Schwartz & Sagie (2000) also found that, *“once economic development reaches a threshold (about \$4,195 in 1986 terms), Self-Transcendence values are highly endorsed by the vast majority of the population, resulting in high consensus”* (p.488). This sum corresponds to ca. 8,350 \$ in 2010 (Williamson, 2013¹³⁷), which in Finland would have been achieved during 1968-1969 (Maddison, 2010). Therefore it can be hypothesized that both Benevolence and Universalism values have an upsurge from 1970s onwards.

Due to democratization promoting individualism and freedom of choice, there should be greater value pluralism after 1907 (the year the first Parliament was elected based on universal suffrage) and in general the period of the Independence, i.e. after 1917, than during the Grand Duchy (1809-1917). Based on Schwartz & Sagie (2000), it can also be hypothesized that there would be an increase of Openness-to-Change values.

There is a positive correlation with national identification and Conservation values (Roccas et al. 2010). Therefore it can be expected that during times of e.g. war, when national identity is under threat, there would also be an increase in other Conservation values, apart from Security, which is a deficit value.

I also expect that due to the emphasis of Education as part of the Finnish nationalistic movement (e.g. Savolainen, 2006), Education values would decrease with onset of the Russification period of the late 19th /early 20th century, and would in general be higher during the Independence than Grand Duchy.

¹³⁶ For value change typologies see e.g. Rescher, 1969

¹³⁷ <http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php>. Accessed 4.8.2013

Can Schwartz theory of values be used also to explain pre- or non- modern societies? Will the structure it posits be reproduced throughout the period of this study (1809-2000)?

SVT structure will be reproduced more closely in the 20th century data than in the previous century, based on the impact of both economic growth and democratization (Bilsky et al., 2011; Fontaine et al., 2008, Strack & Dobewall 2012;).

As there are no previous lexical studies showing a reproduction of a structure either similar or dissimilar to the one proposed by the SVT¹³⁸, no direct hypothesis can be formed based on them. However, based on the general directions of previous research it can be assumed that the structure of the Grand Duchy period is less close to SVT and the structure of the values during Independence is closer to SVT.

¹³⁸ But see Bardi et al., 2008.

6 RESEARCH METHODS

In the context of research methodology, a pragmatic perspective proposes that research methods and designs must be judged on the basis of what they can accomplish.

Karasz & Singelis, 2009, p.910

6.1 CONTENT ANALYSIS

In order to analyze the speeches, a Content Analysis (CA) (Babbie, 2008; Bauer, 2000; Rosengren, 1981; Weber, 1990) approach was used. CA unites statistical and qualitative analysis, and is therefore ideally suitable for the present study. It permits uniting theory based categories with the empirical findings in the texts themselves (Bauer, 2000).

There are two fundamentally different ways of analyzing natural speech: one is to treat it as if it were merely a string of words, coding key words whenever and wherever they occur, subsequently ascribing them to the differing value categories. The other one consists in including in the analysis also the context, and taking into account the subtle underlying meanings conveyed. For this study the latter approach was used.¹³⁹

In natural speech word-count only would not give a true picture, as there are also many indirect ways of conveying meaning and referring to concepts, and therefore the focus could not be on merely nouns (e.g. Bardi, 2008; Helkama & Seppälä, 2006) or on adjectives¹⁴⁰, but also had to take into account the larger linguistic context. This also has to do with the nature of the materials. Firstly, the corpus consists of materials written in two very different languages, Swedish and Finnish. Till 1862 (the year when the language statute limiting the use of Finnish to religious and economic texts was revoked) all the texts are in Swedish and only after that in Finnish (see Sjöblom, 1995). Belonging to two different groups of languages, the way sentences (and hence meanings) are constructed is also different, making mere word count ineffective. Furthermore, due to the nature of the Finnish language and its agglutinative mode of word formation, there simply are too many variants of any given word for it to be meaningful to do a word count based analysis.

This was then also the rationale for using the Atlas.ti software rather than using other word-search based computer-aided coding software, such as e.g. Alceste. Atlas.ti software was developed in Germany in the 1990s, and it has been widely used for computer aided qualitative data analysis. While its

¹³⁹ See also Suedfeld & Weiszbeck, 2004.

¹⁴⁰ For a more thorough discussion on linguistics and values, see Rohan (2000).

modus operandi is rooted in Grounded Theory, it is also very useful for CA, which unites qualitative and quantitative analysis of the data (Bauer, 2000; Weber 1990). The software was used for the first two phases (see below). In the final phase coding was done manually.

6.1.1 CODES

Three categories of codes were used: firstly value codes; secondly, sc. anchor codes to anchor the texts historically and to aid the analysis; thirdly, text based codes.

6.1.1.1 Value codes

Value codes were ascribed using as codes the single value items and their dictionary equivalents provided by the Schwartz Value Theory (SVT)¹⁴¹, together with Work – related value items and Spirituality/Inner life value items, found in previous Finnish studies (e.g. Helkama, 1999; Helkama & Seppälä 2006; Jaari, 2004; Myyry & Helkama, 2001; Verkasalo, 1996).

Following the definition of values (Schwartz, 1992)¹⁴², an expression was coded to be a value expression when it denoted desirability or importance. The following examples clarify the coding principle, with the words guiding the coding underlined.

- a) Sentence coded with Self-Direction as a value (single item: independence, freedom)¹⁴³:

Ne velvollisuudet, joita itsenäisyyden mukana olemme saaneet, kohdistuvat ensi sijassa itsenäisyytemme ja vapautemme säilyttämiseen ja vahvistamiseen.

The duties, given to us together with our independence, aim foremost at the preservation and strengthening of our independence and freedom.

Kekkonen, NYS 1967

- b) Sentence coded as not containing a Self-Direction value: the word ‘independence’ used to describe a timeline:¹⁴⁴

Tarkastelkaamme teollisuustoiminnan kehitystä itsenäisyytemme aikana.

Let us look at the industrial development during our independence.

Kekkonen, NYS 1967

¹⁴¹ see chapter 2 on the theoretical background

¹⁴² Values are general, trans-situational abstract goals that guide both individuals and larger entities in the selection of actions and evaluation of events. These goals convey what is perceived as important or desirable.

¹⁴³ Translation by the author

¹⁴⁴ Translation by the author

The following two are examples¹⁴⁵ of one SVT- based coded sentence (Benevolence, a SVT value) and one example of a Non-SVT value, namely Work-related values.

Benevolence

Inga medel hafwa derföre af Oss blifwit sparade, inga tillfällen att hjälpa och understödja förbisedde.

Therefore no means of help have been by Us spared, no occasion to give help and support has been left unused.

Nicholas I, PDD 1832

Work-related values

Ennen kaikkea riippuu taloudellinenkin tulevaisuutemme kuitenkin itsestämme: sitkeästä ja tarmokkaasta työstämme. Vain kova työ ja lujat otteet voivat taloutemme pelastaa. Siihen perustuu elämämme ja tulevaisuutemme.

Above all our financial future too depends on ourselves: on our tenacious and vigorous work. Only hard work and firm actions can save our economy. That [work] is the foundation of our lives and our future.

Paasikivi, NYS 1947

The essence of values is desirability, but in natural speech people also talk about what they consider to be threats to values. These were coded as well. Thus, in the following example the sentence was coded as Universalism¹⁴⁶.

[...]suursodan uhka on väistynyt Euroopasta, mutta rauhaa nakertavat alueelliset konfliktit, joista monien ratkaisemisessa kansainvälinen yhteisö on ollut lähes voimaton.

[...]the threat of large scale war in Europe has been averted, but peace is still been chipped away by local conflicts, many of which the international community has been unable to solve.

Ahtisaari, NYS 1995

Furthermore, based on previous studies (Aavik & Allik, 2006; Cacioppo & Berntson, 1994, Cacioppo et al, 1997), negative value expressions were also included in the coding. The definition used for negative value expressions was simply ‘something to be avoided or something undesirable’. Thus an expression of a value, e.g. Hedonism was coded as negative, when the pursuit of the value was itself labeled as something negative.

Sammumaton on ihmisen onnen jano. Kuinka tosiaan nykyinenkin aika ponnisteilekse onnea saavuttaakseen! Ja kuinka monesti turhaan, syystä että onnea haetaan aistimaailmasta ja sen nautinnoista!

The thirst for happiness of man is unquenchable. How even the present times strive to obtain happiness! And how often it is in vain, because happiness is

¹⁴⁵ idem

¹⁴⁶ idem

sought from the gratification of sensuous pleasures!

Senate, PDD 1897

The following categories emerged from the texts: negatively valued Hedonism, negatively valued Tradition, negatively valued Power, negatively valued Achievement, negatively valued Stimulation Negative, and negatively valued Self-Direction. In the final analysis they were dropped due to their low frequency, and because they did not correlate with other values in the model, therefore suggesting they might not be part of the same value structure as their positive counterparts.

6.1.1.2 Anchor codes

The following codes were used in order to anchor the texts to their historical and political context and in order to permit further quantitative analysis:

1. Speech type:

POS for Parliament Opening Speech,

PDD for Prayer Day Declarations,

NYS for New Year's Speech,

OTH for other public speech.

2. Time-related codes: century, decade, and year.

3. Ruler: Czar, President, Senate, other (such as PM). These were broken down further into individual name-based codes

These anchoring codes were then also annotated with relevant information to allow contextualizing of particular expressions, thus enhancing the depth of the qualitative analysis of the texts themselves.

6.1.1.3 Text-based codes

Text based codes were codes directly arising from the text such as e.g. the addressees of the speeches.

The addressees of the speeches were coded looking at the explicit expressions. Where the addressees were referred to more implicitly, this was coded under "all people". The latter code was created to allow for the usage of this as a device creating boundaries for in/out group formation, and for the inclusiveness of the moral universe (see Schwartz, 2007).

The following two quotes illustrate the difference; the first was coded as "addressees (subcategory Lutheran Finnish subjects)", the second example was coded under "all people (subcategory Finns)" and "all people (subcategory citizens)":

1.

[...]Tillbjude Eder, OSS älskelige WÅRE trogne undersåtare af Lutherska församlingen i Stor Furstendömet Finland, WÅR synnerliga ynnest, Nådiga benägenhet ock gungliga wilja, med Gud Allsmäktig!
[...]*Offer You, OUR beloved unto us faithful subjects which are of Lutheran congregation in the Grand Duchy of Finland, OUR special favour, gracious predisposition and Our good will with God Almighty*
Alexander I, Prayer Day Declaration, 1812

2.

Meidän suomalaisten on hoidettava maamme niin, että se säilyy itsenäisenä ja vapaana, ja niin, että kaikki kansalaiset voivat katsoa luottavaisesti tulevaisuuteen.
We Finns have to take care of our country in such a way that it remains independent and free and in such a way that all citizens can look to the future with confidence.
Ahtisaari, New Year's Speech, 1995

6.1.1.4 Coding unit: sentence

The texts were coded at sentence level, except for some of the 19th century texts, in which there were sentences with many subordinate clauses, in which case they were coded at clause level. However, in natural speech the thought is often carried over from one sentence, and therefore the sentences were never looked at in isolation. The sentences were coded with as many values as they contained, more than one if necessary. The following excerpt illustrates the point.

Inhimillisen kulttuurin ja henkisen sivistyksen työsaralla kansamme velvollisuudet ja mahdollisuudet näyttävät yhä suurenevan. Tämä osallemme lankeava jalo ja korkea tehtävä kannustakoon meitä erikoisiin ponnistuksiin.
It seems that in the area of human culture and inner civilization the duties and possibilities as a people seem to constantly growing. May this high and noble task, which we have been given, challenge us to extraordinary efforts.
Svinhufvud, New Year's Speech, 1937

This passage was coded as BE (duty), ST (possibilities), ED (human culture and intellectual/inner civilization¹⁴⁷), and WO (exhortation to endeavor).

One of the difficulties in ascribing codes was that in natural language, the combinations 'main word+attribute' often yield value combinations that are not motivationally close. For example, the following sentence can be coded as Achievement, or Security, or Self-Direction.

Olemme hakemassa paikkaamme Euroopassa. Kysymys on [...] mahdollisuudesta turvata omat etumme [...]

¹⁴⁷ Education values emerged from the initial Spirituality value category, see section 6.2 on The next phase below

*We are looking for our place in Europe. It is a question of [...] possibility to safeguard and secure our own interests, what is beneficial to us [...]*¹⁴⁸
Ahtisaari, Parliament Opening Speech, 1995

The following example shows a similar problem where the first part is part of Education values, and the second Security and Power values.

*Maamme ja kansamme kehitys vaatii ehdottomasti säännöllisten taloudellisten olojen aikaansaamista
The progress and development of our nation and people absolutely requires
that we bring about regular economic conditions*¹⁴⁹
Mannerheim, Parliament Opening Speech, 1919

These were also the cases in which the inter-rater agreement was often reached through discussion, if the raters had coded these instances differently. In the examples above the larger linguistic context was also taken into account, and then the sentence was coded with all values which were present.

6.2 PROCEDURE

6.2.1 PILOT STUDY: EVERY 10 YEARS

At first a pilot study was done for speeches every 10 years (PDD, N =20; POS, N=12; NYS, N=7) starting from 1812 (the year when the first Prayer Day Declaration (PDD) of the period was given), including also the first speeches of each speech type by President Ahtisaari. All together there were 39 speeches.

The initial coding of values was done using as codes all value items mentioned above. In addition, following the basic definition of values (Schwartz 1992, 1994), all expressions containing positive evaluations of the desirability of a behavior, event or person were coded as value expressions, even when the value endorsed was not one of the abovementioned value items. For example, ‘trust’ was used as one of the codes for the section below¹⁵⁰:

Keskinäisen luottamuksen ja yhteisymmärryksen avulla varmistamme parhaiten yhteisen isänmaamme vakaan ja turvallisen kehityksen myös tulevana vuosina.

The best way to secure the steady and safe development of our common fatherland also in the coming years is through mutual trust and mutual

¹⁴⁸ Translation by the author

¹⁴⁹ Translation by the author

¹⁵⁰ Translation by the author

understanding.

Koivisto, New Year's Speech, 1982

In the final analysis these value expressions were not taken into account in the quantitative analysis of the data, as it was outside of the scope of the present study.

6.2.2 THE NEXT PHASE: EVERY FIVE YEARS

After the pilot study covering every 10 years of the speeches, a second batch was analyzed covering every 5 years of the period, adding 36 speeches (PDD, N=18; POS N=11; NYS N = 7) making the total of analyzed speeches N=75. This analysis was also done using Atlas.ti software.

During this phase it also became clear that the Finnish value of Spirituality/Inner life had a separate component, which was labeled 'Education' based on its content. In the final analysis these Education related values were separated from the Spirituality /Inner-life values. This was also supported by the historical importance given to education as a Finnish value, having an intrinsic value in the formation of the nation from the times of national awakening in the 19th century to the present¹⁵¹.

Education values consist of the pursuit of culture and learning shown by single values of education, pursuit of knowledge and culture, pursuit of inner growth and progress, and acquisition of skills.

The following are examples¹⁵² of the single Education value items:

1. Pursuit of knowledge

[...den på en högre plats i Samhället uppsatte... att ibland sina Medborgare ware en föresyn...] uti oförtruten ifwer att genom forskningar efter sanning söka utbreda ljus och upplysning

[...those who have been placed on a higher place in the Society... to be among their Citizens an example...] of untiring ardor in seeking through the pursuit of truth to spread light and enlightenment.

Nicholas I, Prayer Day Declaration, 1827

2. Pursuit of culture/civilization

...ja olkoonpa vaikka kuinkakin vähäinen ja syrjäinen [maa], niin on se aikanansa hedelmiä kantawa ja työllään myöskin puolestansa kartuttawa ihmisyyden suurta päämäärää: sen edistymistä siwistyksessä ja jalostumisessa.

... and even if it [the land] be however small or remote, it will in due course bear fruit and through its work also increase and contribute to the great goal of humankind: its progress in culture and civilization and in its

¹⁵¹ Ideas strongly promoted e.g. by J.V. Snellman, see Savolainen, 2006.

¹⁵² Translation in all cases is by the author

ennoblement.

Alexander II, Prayer Day Declaration, 1872

3. Pursuit of education and knowledge

Maastamme tulee tehdä tietoyhteiskunta, missä ihmisten osaaminen, yritteliäisyys ja korkea koulutustaso ovat keskeisiä tuotannon tekijöitä.

Our nation has to be made into an information society, in which people's know-how, enterprise and high level of education are central elements of production.

Ahtisaari, Parliament Opening Speech, 1995

6.2.3 FINAL CODING: ALL YEARS AND ALL SPEECHES

After this initial minutely detailed analysis covering roughly 20% of the texts, the remaining texts were coded manually using the SVT value categories together with Spirituality values, Work-related values and Education forming additional categories. This resulted in all speeches ($N = 355$) being coded for the following 13 values: Universalism, Benevolence, Conformity, Tradition, Security, Power, Achievement, Hedonism, Stimulation, Self-Direction, Spirituality, Education, Work-related values.

6.2.4 RELIABILITY

A coding manual for the value codes was made for the use of independent coders. Using the manual the coding was tested by two independent coders. They coded the material at two different stages of the analysis, so that all in all 20% was coded by them. The agreement ratio between my original coding and the coders was 85% and 95%, respectively. Disagreements between raters were then resolved by discussion.

6.3 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

After the coding the instances of values in each speech, these instances were counted and the counts were transformed in percentages per each speech in order to maintain the comparability across all the samples regardless of the length of the single speech.

Thus for every speech the numerical values ascribed to the value items refer to the percentage this particular value occupied in that single speech, therefore the numerical values vary from 0-100 (although in reality as no speech consists of only one kind of value expression the highest numerical value is never 100). The numerical values have been given to one decimal. All statistical analyses were performed on numerical values thus obtained.

In addition, longitudinal variation was also calculated based on mean percentages per decade. The data was furthermore analyzed according to time, type of speech and ruler. For each of these categories the objective was to create meaningful ways of comparison by changing the focus and thus the grouping of the data.

6.3.1 TIME

Two main ways of looking at the data from the time perspective were used. First of all the mean percentage for each value across speeches for each decade was calculated. The mean percentages were then compared for the rank order value priorities across decades, for the distribution of value dimensions per decade as well as for the distribution of SVT values vs. Non – SVT values.

Secondly, the data was divided in to two groups according to the political structure in vigor: Grand Duchy (1809-1917) and Independence (1917-2000). The mean percentage of values across speeches was calculated along this division. The results were again compared for the distribution of values and for value rank order priorities.

6.3.2 SPEECH TYPE

The speeches were divided according to each speech type into the four categories: Prayer Day Declarations (PDD), from 1812-1999; Parliament Opening Speeches (POS), from 1809-2000; New Year's Speeches (NYS), from 1935-2000, and, lastly, Other Speeches (OTH), from 1894-1918. Mean percentage of values in each type of speech was calculated, and the speeches were grouped for further comparison by period (Grand Duchy vs. Independence) as well as per decade. As with the time-focus, with speech type-focus as well the data was looked at in terms of presence of values, the distribution of value dimensions, SVT vs. Non-SVT values.

6.3.3 RULERS

There were 5 Czars and 10 Presidents included in the study. There were also speeches held by General Governors, the Senate, and the Government, and by Prime Ministers, and by one future president (Svinhufvud) as the Speaker of Parliament (altogether $N = 17$), these speeches were excluded from this part of the analysis, whilst being included in the previous analyses.

For each ruler a value profile was compiled by calculating the mean percentage of values across all speeches held by each ruler. Rank order of values was calculated based on these means. Changes in rank order priorities were also analyzed year by year. Mean percentage of values was also

calculated across each speech type to permit comparison across speaker and across type of speech.

The following table illustrates the division of speeches per ruler.

Table 14. *Rulers and speech types*

Ruler		In power	PDD	POS	NYS	OTH	Total N
CZARS							
	Alexander I	1809-25	11	2			13
	Nikolai I	1825-55	32				32
	Alexander II	1855-81	27	4			31
	Alexander III	1881-94	13	4			17
	Nikolai II	1894-1917	8	6		3	17
			Total N=	91	16	3	110
PRESIDENTS							
	Ståhlberg	1919-25		5			5
	Relander	1925-1931	1	8			9
	Svinhufvud	1917-18, 1931-37	5	9	3		17
	Kallio	1937-40	4	3	3		10
	Ryti	1940-44	3	4	2		9
	Mannerheim	1918-19, 1944-46	1	2			3
	Paasikivi	1946-56	10	11	11		32
	Kekkonen	1956-82	26	25	25		76
	Koivisto	1982-94	13	14	12		39
	Ahtisaari	1994-2000	6	6	6		18
			Total N=	69	87	61	218

Note: PDD = Prayer Day Declarations, POS = Parliament Opening Speeches, NYS = New Year's Speeches, OTH = the following three speeches held by Nicholas II: Declaration of Ascension to the throne, 1894, Declaration of an Additional Prayer Day, 1894, and the Declaration of Finland's Unity with Russia 1899, i.e. the so called February Manifesto.

7 RESULTS IN CONTEXT

In order to do justice to the data and to answer the research questions as comprehensively as possible, the data was looked at from different point of views with both qualitative as well as quantitative considerations taken into account.¹⁵³ The qualitative results are presented first in order to capture more of the richness of the data, answering questions such as: what was actually said? As each of the value categories¹⁵⁴ is rather broad, were some value items within the value categories more present in the speeches than others? What aspects of values (or singular values) were mentioned? How were the opposing values handled?

These results are then followed by the general descriptive statistics, the ratio between SVT values and the Non-SVT values, and the occurrence of value mentions in the speeches.

The quantative results are organized according to time, speech type and speaker. Firstly, the results are looked at from the point of time and therefore also polity. Which values are present at which historical period? Is there a difference between the period of Grand Duchy (1809-1917), when Finland was an autonomous part of the Russian empire, and Independence (1917-2000), when Finland was a democratic Republic? Secondly, the focus is on the speech types: are there differences in the endorsed values between the different speech types (considering that it was almost always the same person holding the all speeches each year)? Thirdly, the viewpoint of the rulers themselves: which values does each one of them prioritize?

Interwoven with the presentation of results as was outlined above, there will also be an emphasis on the presence (or the lack thereof) of the values not belonging to Schwartz Value Theory (SVT) found in previous Finnish studies (namely Work-related values, Spirituality, and Education).¹⁵⁵ What role do they play? Are they really necessary to capture the whole picture? Are they present solely when the speakers are Finns (i.e. Finnish Presidents vs. Russian Czars)? Are there time-based differences?

As was already mentioned in chapter 4, it is not possible to actually know who wrote each speech, even though there are some textual and other indications e.g. concerning some of the Prayer Day Declarations (Sjöblom, 1995; Vuorela, 1980), but they are outside the scope of the present study.

¹⁵³ Similar approach is advocated by Karasz & Singelis (2009) for e.g. cross cultural research.

¹⁵⁴ The value categories themselves are made up of several distinct values, e.g. Universalism consists of values promoting peace, preservation of nature as well as social tolerance and equality. See chapter 2.

¹⁵⁵ The Non-SVT Finnish values are derived from previous studies; see e.g. Helkama & Seppälä (2006), Jaari (2004), Myrsky & Helkama (2001), and Verkasalo et al. (2004).

Therefore the results are presented in the name of the ruler to which the speeches can be ascribed to, without implying that they actually wrote them in person. This is especially so for the 19th century material (mostly consisting of Prayer Day Declarations, all of which are part of and included in the Finnish Laws and Statutes).

7.1 HOW VALUES WERE TALKED ABOUT

As a starting point, the actual utterances¹⁵⁶ containing values will be look at the level of value dimensions¹⁵⁷. The dimensions capture something fundamental of the motivational core of the value categories (e.g. Universalism, Power), organizing them into a motivational continuum. In the speeches the single value components of the value categories (such as e.g. 'peace', which is part of the Universalism values) are emphasized with varying degrees of frequency, so that one aspect of a value might be more salient than another aspect. This characteristic adds to the necessity to include qualitative data in the analysis of the material, as it contributes to the fuller understanding of which values were mentioned, and how they were actually talked about.

As stated by the SVT (Schwartz, 1992), the endorsement¹⁵⁸ and scope of values can be individual as well as collective. In the speeches there are examples of both, but due to the nature of these speeches as messages for the entire population, the collective aspect of the values is emphasized.

The first dimension which will be looked at is the Self-Transcendence vs. Self-Enhancement. The tension of this dimension consists of the focus on whose interests are primarily taken into account, those of the individual or the group. Openness-to-Change and Conservation form the next dimension. There the focus is on acting on what is known as opposed to embracing change and things yet unexplored. Lastly, Work- related values, Spirituality and Education will also be looked at in more detail.

¹⁵⁶ The original texts are in Finnish or Swedish. All the translations are by the author.

¹⁵⁷ Value dimensions are the following: Self-Enhancement (Power and Achievement) vs. Self-Transcendence (Universalism and Benevolence), and secondly Conservation (Conformity, Tradition and Security) vs. Openness-to-Change values (Hedonism, Stimulation and Self-Direction). The Non SVT values, Spirituality, Work-related values and Education, do not form a single motivational dimension of their own.

¹⁵⁸ Naturally the mere mentioning of a value does not guarantee that it is actually endorsed by the speaker personally, nor is this assumed to always be the case in the analysis of the speeches included in this study. However, the opposite cannot be assumed either: it is not possible to say that the speakers never endorse the values they mention, or that the speeches do not to some degree reflect their own preferences and opinions.

7.1.1 SELF-ENHANCEMENT VS. SELF-TRANSCENDENCE DIMENSION

Self-Enhancement focuses on the positive outcomes for the individual rather than focusing on the group benefits; in contrast Self-Transcendence focuses on the well-being of the group, even at the expense of the individual.

However, in the present data Self-Enhancement values are talked about as values only for the community as a whole (nation, people, land, its culture), whereas Self-Transcendence values are talked about as applying to the individual as well. When Self-Enhancement values are talked about in the context of individuals, they are talked about as something negative. The following examples clarify the point¹⁵⁹.

Self-Enhancement (Power, Achievement) values with a focus on the collective:

Te tunnute Minun ajatuslaatuni ja kuinka rakas Minulle niiden kansojen onni ja menestys on, jotka Luoja on uskonut Minun huolenpitooni.
You know My way of thinking and how dear to Me is the happiness and success of the peoples (AC) which the Creator has entrusted into my care.
Alexander I, Prayer Day Declaration, 1812

Hallituksen tavoitteena on ratkaisu , jonka turvin koko Suomi menestyy ja jonka suomalaisten laaja enemmistö voi hyväksyä .
The aim of the Government is a solution which will enable all of Finland to be successful (AC) and which the large majority of Finns can accept.
Prime Minister Aho, New Year's Speech, 1993

Taloudellisen kehittämisen kannalta on tärkeää, että jos lasketaan uudistuvien luonnonvarojen tuotto henkeä kohti, olemme kärkisijoilla Euroopan kansojen joukossa.
From the viewpoint of the economic development, it is important that if the profit from renewable natural resources per capita is calculated, we are among the first of the European nations (AC).
Kekkonen, New Year's Speech, 1977

Negative consequences for the society are underlined when Self-Enhancement values are the basis for individual action (even though the same actions, e.g. competition, would be upheld as collective values):

Huru ofta ockrar ej winningslystnaden på nästans lif och wälfärd genom utspridande af förderfliga rusdrycker, hwartill användes den säd, som Herren gifwit menniskorna till föda!
How often does not the greed of [personal]¹⁶⁰ gain threat your neighbor's life and well-being through the distribution of harmful intoxicating drinks, for

¹⁵⁹ The main value expressions have been underlined

¹⁶⁰ Word added by the author

which used the very grain the Lord has given to people for food!

Alexander II, Prayer Day Declaration, 1862

Nämät owat itsekkäisyyden syntiset taipumukset: voiton- ja nautinnonhimo
These are the sinful inclinations of selfishness: greed of gain and lust for
pleasure.

Senate, Prayer Day Declaration, 1882

Kilpailu on kiristänyt asenteita ja heikentänyt yhteisvastuutamme.

Piittaamattomuus lähimmäisestä on lisääntynyt. Turvattomuuden tunne yhteiskunnassa on kasvanut.

[Individual]¹⁶¹ competitiveness has made attitudes harder and has weakened our joint responsibility. Disregard for one's neighbors has increased. The feeling of societal insecurity has augmented.

Koivisto, Prayer Day Declaration, 1986

Omana aikanamme on kuitenkin yhä useampi ihminen menettänyt elämän
kestävän pohjan ja pyrkinyt rakentamaan turvallisuuksensa aineellisen
hyvinvoinnin varaan.

In our days however an increasing number of people have lost the steady
ground for life and have sought to build their safety on material wellbeing.

Ahtisaari, Prayer Day Declaration, 1997

Self-Transcendence (Universalism, Benevolence) as values for the individual:

Om afkastningen af Edra skördar icke swarat emot Edert hopp, så hafwe WI
skyndat till Edert bistånd och förekommit följderna af en olycklig årswärt.

If the yield of your harvest has not been equal to your hopes, then have
WE¹⁶² hastened to your help and have prevented the consequences of an
unhappy annual yield.

Alexander I, Prayer Day Declaration, 1812

Wi hafwe också på första underrättelsen derom skyndat att räcka de
behofwande en hjälpsam hand, och så widt möjligt warit, rädda de mest
nödlidande undan hungerns rysliga qwal.

WE¹⁶³ have also from the first account of what has happened, hastened to
extend to the needy a helping hand, and, as widely as has been possible,
have rescued the most distressed and needy from famine's horrible suffering
and pain.

Nicholas I, Prayer Day Declaration, 1832

¹⁶¹ Idem

¹⁶² When the Czars use the majestic plural, it is denoted in the translation of excerpts (as in the original) by the pronoun written in capital letters.

¹⁶³ Idem

Raamattumme puhuu kansojen tehtävästä rauhan rakentajana, kehottaa panemaan pois itsekkäät tavoitteet ja julistamaan sovittavaa henkeä. Yksilöinä emme saa kuitenkaan piiloutua suurten joukkojen, kansakuntien keskeen, vaan meidän on etsittävä itsellemme myös persoonalliset kannanotot.

Our Bible talks about the mission nations have to build peace, exhorting us to get rid of selfish goals and to declare a reconciliatory spirit. As individuals we cannot hide in the midst of great crowds, in the middle of nations, but we must seek for ourselves also our personal standpoints.

Kekkonen, Prayer Day Declaration, 1972

Päättynyt syksy on vakuuttavasti osoittanut, että myös pienten valtioiden toiminta ja tavallisten kansalaisten rauhantahto voivat vaikuttaa kansainvälisiin tapahtumiin.

The now ending autumn has convincingly demonstrated that also the actions of small states and the desire for peace of ordinary citizens can influence international events.

Koivisto, New Year's Speech, 1982

Self-Transcendence as a value for the collective:

Maa on suurin uhrein pelastettu kansan äärettömien, yli inhimillisten ponnistusten avulla. On pidettävä mielessä, että tämä on vaatinut niin suunnattomia kustannuksia, että jatkuvasti on välttämätöntä asettaa yleiset hetken yksityisten pyyteiden edelle.

The country has been saved with great sacrifices, with the help of the immense, superhuman endeavours of the people. It must be kept in mind that this has required so tremendous costs that it is necessary to continuously put common benefit over individual desires.

Minister Hakkila, New Year's Speech, 1942

Samanaikaisesti monet muut kansainväliset pulmakysymykset odottavat ratkaisuaan. Niitä tulisi lähestyä siinä suvaitsevaisuuden ja hyvän naapurisuuden hengessä, johon YK:n peruskirja velvoittaa kaikkia jäsenvaltioita.

Simultaneously many other international problems are waiting to be solved. They should be approached in the spirit of tolerance and good neighbourliness that are prescribed by the UN charter for all member states.

Koivisto New Year's Speech, 1986

Yksi keskeisiä alkavan vuosituhannen haasteita on siirtyminen monikulttuuriseen Suomeen. Jatkossa maassamme omaa elämäänsä rakentaa entistä useampi suomalainen, jonka äidinkieli ei ole suomi tai jonka juuret eivät ole Suomessa. Suomessa ei ole onneksi kehittynyt todellista muukalaisvihaa, vaikka maahanmuuttajaväestömme kasvoikin juuri vaikeiden lamavuosien aikana. Meidän pitää kuitenkin jatkuvasti tehdä töitä

oman yhteiskuntamme suvaitsevaisuuden eteen.

One of the central challenges of the beginning millenium is the transition to multicultural Finland. In the future, more and more Finns whose mother tongue is not Finnish or whose roots are not in Finland build their lives in our country. Luckily, true xenophobia has not developed in Finland, even though our immigrant population increased namely during the hard years of recession. Nevertheless, we have to continuously work for tolerance in our own society.

Ahtisaari, Parliament Opening Speech, 1999

The following section looks at the values the dimensions in greater detail.

7.1.1.1 Self-Transcendence values: Benevolence and Universalism

Kehittäkäämme isänmaatamme vastuullisesti ja tasapuolisesti. Vaalikaamme huolella ainutlaatuista luontoamme. Huolehtikaamme siitä, että haavoittuvimmat ja heikoimmat lähimmäisemme saavat turvallisen elämän. Kuunnelkaamme toisiamme ja osoittakaamme suvaitsevaisuutta. Älkäämme kovettako sydämiämme niitä kohtaan, joiden tässä vaikeassa tilanteessa on turvattava muiden apuun.

Let us develop our fatherland responsibly and fairly. Let us take care diligently of our unique nature. Let us make sure that the most vulnerable and weakest neighbors can have a safe and secure life. Let us listen to each other and let us demonstrate tolerance. Let us not harden our hearts towards those who in this difficult situation have to count on others to help them.

Ahtisaari, Parliament Opening Speech 1995

The above excerpt gives an example of the way Self-Transcendence values are woven together. As can be seen later in Table 3, Self-Transcendence values alone cover circa 25% of all the values in the speeches, with Benevolence being the more frequently mentioned of the two. The core aspect of Benevolence is that its focus is on the in-group and its well-being, whereas the core of Universalism is a combination of two aspects: welfare of all people and protection of nature (Schwartz, 1992), thus extending the circle of concern beyond the boundaries of the in-group. In the emphasis of the well-being are also included questions of social justice and equality (Schwartz, 2007b).

In the speeches held by the Czars Benevolence values are of particular interest, as the Czars were essentially conquerors with not much in common with their subjects in Finland¹⁶⁴. The Benevolence values used tend to be appeals to faithfulness, love and gratitude (a Conformity value), as in the

¹⁶⁴ The discussion of the creation of an 'us' between the Czars and their subjects will be addressed in greater detail in the next chapter.

following excerpts. The first is from the very first Prayer Day Declaration given under the new regime; it was by Czar Alexander I in the midst of the Napoleonic turmoil in Europe; and the second is from the Prayer Day Declaration given by Nicholas I after his official ascension to the throne in 1827. Values coded as Benevolence are underlined.

Starke af VÅRA Undersåtares kärlek och trohet, kunde WI, med de medel Försynen OSS gifwit, icke misströsta om framgång, då WI med VÅRT Folk, förödmjukande OSS inför Den Allsmäktige, derom anropade Honom.
Strengthened by OUR ¹⁶⁵ Subjects love and fidelity, could WE, with the means Providence gave US, not doubt the victory, as WE and OUR people humbled OURSELVES in front of the Almighty and cried out to Him for help.
Alexander I, Prayer Day Declaration, 1812

[...] viljande Wi alltid anse för Vår yppersta ära och tillfredsställelse att se Våra oafbrutna omsorger för älskade Undersåtares väl underlättas genom deras laglydnad, och belönas genom deras tacksamhet, tillgifwenhet, trohet och kärlek.
[...] WE¹⁶⁶ always see as OUR highest honor and satisfaction that OUR unbroken tender care for our beloved Subjects well-being is made easier by their obedience to the law, and is rewarded by their gratefulness, devotion, loyalty and love.
Nicholas I, Prayer Day Declaration 1827/1

Benevolence is also commonly linked with the taking care of the weakest members of the society. These appeals were also made stronger by linking them with the love and loyalty towards the fatherland and its people a good citizen was expected to exhibit.

[...] beweka Edra hjertan till hjelpsamhet och wälgörenhet emot Edra lidande landsman [...]
[...] waken Your hearts to helpfulness and to doing good towards Your suffering compatriots [...]
Nicholas I, Prayer Day Declaration 1852

Mutta toivoa sopii, että vilpitön tahto asettaa isänmaan yhteiset edut ja asiallisiin tuloksiin pääseminen erikoisharrastuksia ja toisarvoisia eroavaisuuksia ylemmäksi sekä lojaalinen menettely on tekevä menestyksellisen eduskuntatyön mahdolliseksi.
But I indeed hope that the successful working of the Parliament will be made possible by loyal procedures together with a sincere will to put the Fatherland's common interests and the desire to obtain pertinent results

¹⁶⁵ The majestic plural indicating the Czar in person

¹⁶⁶ Idem

above any special interests and insignificant differences.

Ståhlberg, Parliament Opening Speech 1922

Tyytymättömyys eri kansankerrosten, eritenkin työnantaja- ja työmiesluokan, välillä on kasvamassa, vaikka sekä jumalallisen säädöksen että ihmisellisen yhteiskuntajärjestyksen mukaan keskinäinen luottamus, hyväntahtoisuus ja avuliaisuus pitäisi olla vallitsemassa.

The discontent between different people is growing, especially between the class of employers and the working class, even though according to the divine statutes and human societal order mutual trust, benevolence and helpfulness should be prevailing.

(Nicholas II, Prayer Day Declaration 1897)

The professed Universalism values are for the most part centered on peace. Justice, equality, and protection of nature are also mentioned, although protection of the environment is getting more frequent only after the 1970s.

Olemme voineet havaita, että parhaiten voimme edistää kansainvälistä rauhaa ja turvallisuutta pyrkimällä aktiivisesti ja kärsivällisesti YK:n ja sen toimintamahdollisuuksien vahvistamiseen

We have been able to notice that we can best promote international peace and security by seeking to actively and patiently strengthen the UN and its operational prospects.

Koivisto, New Year's Speech 1985

[...]Venäjän valtiolta on tyydyttävä kaikki Teidän oikeutetut

toivomuksenne, hyvin muistaen, että keskinäisissä suhteissa oikeuteen perustuva liitto on vahvempi ja vankempi kuin voiman oikeus

[...] the State of Russia will satisfy all your justified wishes remembering well that in mutual relationships an alliance based on rights is stronger and more solid than what force can produce.

General Governor Stahovitsh, Parliament Opening Speech 1917

Tulevaisuuteen suuntautuvana ja ihmiselle läheisenä luonnonsuojelu ja ihmisen elinympäristön hoito ovat tehtäviä, joihin voimme suhtautua varauksetta myönteisesti.

As it is directed towards the future and as it is a subject close to us as human beings, protection of nature and taking care of the environment are tasks towards which we can have an unreservedly positive attitude.

Kekkonen, New Year's Speech 1970

Universalism values are also often linked with other values, such as Security (especially when 'peace' is the single endorsed value), and Power values, when social justice is concerned.

Suomi jatkaa naapurisovun linjaa, joka on antanut hyviä tuloksia ja jolla on hyviä edellytyksiä taata rauha ja turvallisuus alueellamme.

Finland will continue on the line of harmonious relations with our neighbors, which has produced good results, and which line has a high probability of guaranteeing peace and security in our region.

Koivisto, Parliament Opening Speech 1991

Taloudellisella kehityksellä on heijastusvaikutuksensa . Ihmisoikeuksia on siellä eniten, missä on tuloja, omaisuutta, sosiaaliturvaa. Ihmisoikeuksien puutetta esiintyy eniten siellä, missä on kurjuutta, epätoivoa, sotaa.
Economic progress has its ripple effects. Human rights are [observed]¹⁶⁷ the most where there are earnings, possessions and social security. Human rights are the most lacking where there is misery, despair and war.
(Koivisto, New Year's Speech 1988)

7.1.1.2 Self-Enhancement values: Power and Achievement

Power values are mainly portrayed in the speeches as a means to obtain other ends. Dominance or control of resources or people is not upheld as a goal in itself, but only as a means to secure the wellbeing of the nation or general progress.

Käsi kädessä suotuisan taloudellisen kehityksen kanssa voimme viedä eteenpäin kansamme kulttuuria, jolle jo luja pohja on luotu.
Hand in hand with the favourable economic development we can promote the culture of our nation, to which a solid ground has already been created.
Svinhufvud, New Year's Speech 1936

Tyvydytyksellä on merkittävä jatkuva taloudellinen vaurastuminen ja sen mukanaan tuoma selvä kansamme elinehtojen ja hyvinvoinnin parantuminen
The continuing economic prosperity and the following clear improvement of the conditions of life and wellbeing of our nation has to be noted with satisfaction.
Svinhufvud, New Year's Speech 1937

Suomi kuuluu nykyään maailman vauraimpien kansakuntien joukkoon. Maamme taloudelliset, sosiaaliset ja sivistykselliset olot ovat viimeksi kuluneina vuosikymmeninä kehittyneet hyvin.
Finland is nowadays among the most prosperous nations. The economic, social and cultural conditions of our country have developed well during the recent decades.
Koivisto, Prayer Day Declaration 1987

¹⁶⁷ Word added by the author

Taloudellinen kasvu on tehnyt mahdolliseksi sosiaaliturvan kehittämisen.
Economic growth has enabled the development of social security system
Koivisto, Prayer Day Declaration 1986

Talouspolitiikan tarkoitus on kuitenkin kansalaisten hyvinvoinnin turvaaminen, ei vain tiettyjen numeroarvojen saavuttaminen kansainvälisissä vertailuissa
The purpose of the economic policy is nevertheless to secure the wellbeing of the citizens, not only to reach certain numbers in international comparisons.
Ahtisaari, New Year's Speech 1999

The aspect of the accumulation of wealth as a positive value is viewed on the other hand as reduction of misery and poverty, and on the other hand it is mainly talked about in terms of growth of the national income, therefore often aiming at a future good.

Sekä tulo- että muussa talouspolitiikassa on tärkeätä vakaan taloudellisen kasvun ja ulkomaisen kilpailukyvyn turvaaminen, sillä vain näin saamme taloutemme vankalle pohjalle ja takaamme itsellemme paremmat elämänolot tulevaisuudessa.

Both in incomes and other economic policy it is important to secure steady economic growth and international competitiveness, as only this way we can put our economy to a solid ground and ensure better living conditions to ourselves in the future.

Kekkonen, New Year's Speech 1972

[...]fått i ro och under Edre Lagars hägn sköta Edra wanliga näringsyrken, dem ock Herren så rikeligen wälsignat, att I deraf skördat ej allenast tarflig bergning för året, utan ock, såsom Wi förmode, ett öfwerskott för en kommande tid.

[...]you have been able to, in peace and under the protection of your laws, to go about your ordinary business, those, that is, whom the Lord has so richly blessed that you have harvest not only what is necessary for your keeping for the year, but have also, as WE thought, been able to have a surplus for the future.

Nicholas, Prayer Day Declaration 1827/2

On the other hand, wealth is also seen as a source of danger for morally upright behavior.

Niin osoittaa kokemus omasta maasta, että helpommat keinot ansionsaantiin edellisinä monina hywinä vuosina, joilla maa on ollut siunattu, monin paikoin owat synnyttäneet Jumalan hywäin lahjain kewytmielistä - käyttämistä ja että erittäinkin juoppous tawallisten seuralaistensa, wäkiwaltaisuuden, tapon ja haureellisuuden kanssa huolettawassa määrässä on enentynyt, uhaten perinpohjin turmella kansan siweellistä ja ruumiillista woimaa, sen ohessa että lukuisat perheet sen kautta syöstään

siweelliseen ja taloudelliseen viheliäisyyteen.

The experience from our own country shows that easier ways to earning in many previous good years, with which the country has been blessed, have in many places brought along frivolous use of God's good gifts – and especially drunkenness with its usual companions, violence, killing and indecency, has increased in a worrying degree, threatening to utterly ruin the moral and physical strength, with it many families are pushed to moral and economic wretchedness.

Alexander II, Prayer Day Declaration 1877

Aineellisen turvallisuuden kasvu on erityisesti viime vuosina ollut nopeaa. Samalla on kuitenkin nähtävissä, että henkinen terveys ei ole vahvistunut aineellisen hyvinvoinnin myötä.

The increase of material security has been rapid especially during the recent years. At the same time it can be also seen, however, that mental and spiritual health has not been strengthened along with material prosperity.

Koivisto, Prayer Day Declaration 1989

During the Grand Duchy period power and influence were seen as belonging to the Crown by hereditary rights (their ultimate source being God), and delegated when needs be to earthly representatives. Power during independence stems from law or from the mandate given by the people (see Beetham, 1991).

Med bekymradt sinne skådade Wi inför och omkring Oss dessa talrika Folkslag, desse trogne Söner af ett gemensamt Fädernesland, djupt betagne af bedröfwelse, nedtryckte under den bittraste saknad efter en bortgången gemensam Fader och Wårdare, men nu mera upplyftande, med förhoppning och förtroende, sina försagde blickar till Oss, som Försynen hade utsett till att intaga den Hängångnes upphöjda plats och widtomfattande werkningskrets. *With worried thoughts WE looked both ahead of US and around US at this numerous people, these faithful sons of a common Fathersland, so deeply overtaken by the loss, downcast by the most bitter missing of the departed Father and Keeper of us all; but who now have lifted their eyes with hope and trust towards US, whom the Providence has appointed to take the Departed's elevated position and widely encompassing circle of influence*

Nicholas I, Prayer Day Declaration 1827/1

Sen voiman ja vallan nojalla, jonka Keisarillinen Majesteetti on Keisarilliselle Suomen Senaatile suonut[...],

Based on the authority and power that the Imperial Majesty has given to the Imperial Senate of Finland[...]

Senate, Prayer Day Declaration 1900

Sellaisina aikoina, joita me nyt elämme, saattaa ainoastaan se hallitusmuoto, joka antaa hallitukselle riittävän arvovallan ja voiman, taata valtion

säilymisen ja rauhallisen kehityksen.

In the kind of times that we are now living, can only the kind of Constitution, that provides the government with adequate authority and power, ensure the preservation and peaceful development of the state.

Ståhlberg, Parliament Opening Speech 1919

Social status, prestige and the protection of one's image are talked about as an aspect of the nation, not the individual.

Nykyisessä maailmantilanteessa joudutaan punnitsemaan Euroopan yhdyntyessä eri kansojen yhteyspyrkimysten ja kansallisten tavoitteiden suhdetta. Terve kansallinen itsetunto, joka perustuu oman maan ja kansan arvostamiseen ja historian tuntemiseen, luo edellytykset rakentaa vastuullista yhteiselämää. Tämän itsetunnon varassa on mahdollista luoda avoimet ja rakentavat suhteet muihin kansoihin ja kulttuureihin. Näin torjutaan myös sellainen kehitys, joka rakentuu itsekkyydelle ja omien etujen ajamiselle.

In the current global situation and European unification we have to weigh the relationship between the efforts towards unity of different nations and national aims and goals. Healthy national self-esteem, based on the appreciation of [our] own country and nation, and on the knowledge of [its] history, creates the preconditions for building responsible life together.

Based on this self-esteem it is possible to create open and constructive relationships with other nations and cultures. This way also the kind of development which is built on selfishness and promotion of own benefits can also be averted.

Ahtisaari, Prayer Day Declaration 1994

Pikemminkin olisi YK:lle pyrittävä luomaan sellainen arvovalta, että jäsenvaltiot voisivat jättää riitansa YK:n ratkaistavaksi luottaen sen oikeudenmukaisuuteen ja tarvitsematta pelätä kasvojensa menettämistä epäsuotuisan päätöksen tullessa.

We should rather try to create to the UN the kind of prestige that would enable the member states to give their conflicts to UN to solve, and would enable them to trust its pursuit of justice, without needing to fear the loss of face in a time of an unfavourable decision.

Kekkonen, New Year's Speech 1957

Kansan ututtera työ saa suuria aikaan, kun se saa rauhassa ja täydellä teholla jatkua. Suomen kansa voi hyvällä syyllä kysyä, olisiko tässä karussa maassa kukaan muu meidän sijastamme päässyt parempiin tuloksiin.

The hard work of the people brings about great achievements, when it can continue in peace and at full capacity. The people of Finland can well ask, whether anyone else than us could have reached better results in this barren land.

Paasikivi, New Year's Speech 1952

Ulkopoliittisen asemamme vakiintuminen, taloudellisten olojemme kehittyminen sekä kansamme sisäisen eheyden lisääntyminen ovat kulkeneet käsi kädessä, sillä näiden kolmen tekijän kesken vallitsee vahva vuorovaikutus. Myönteiset kokemukset jollakin lohkolla edesauttavat hyvää kehitystä toisillakin.

The stabilizing of our foreign political position, the development of our economic conditions and the increase of our nation's internal cohesiveness have gone hand in hand, as these three factors share a strong relationship. Positive experience in one factor promote good development in others, too.
Koivisto, New Year's Speech 1982

Achievement values follow the pattern of Power values. They are largely not seen as a goal of their own. On a national level being respected, outdoing others (competition) and being successful are intertwined with preserving the public image of the nation as a whole, therefore closely linking Power and Achievement values.

Maamme kansainvälinen asema on vakaa ja arvostettu, minkä olen saattanut todeta lukuisissa keskusteluissa ulkovaltojen edustajien kanssa.

The international position of our country is stable and esteemed, which I have been able to note in many discussions with representatives of foreign states.

Koivisto, New Year's Speech 1986

Suomi pyrkii täyttämään Emu-kriteerit niin, että se voisi halutessaan siirtyä Emun kolmanteen vaiheeseen ensimmäisten jäsenmaiden joukossa.

Finland aims to fullfill the EMU criteria so that it could, if it so wished, proceed to the third phase of EMU among the first member states.

Ahtisaari, Parliament Opening Speech 1997

Kansallisia vahvuuksiamme tulee kehittää entistä määrätietoisemmin: korkea koulutustaso, tietoliikenneosaaminen, kilpailukyky ympäristöteknologian alalla sekä maaseutomme ovat tällaisia vahvuuksia.

Our national strengths must be developed more determinately than before: high level of education, expertise in telecommunication, competitiveness in the field of environmental technology, and our countryside are these kind of strengths.

Ahtisaari, Parliament Opening Speech 1997

Meillä on todennäköisesti oma, eikä mitätönkään sarkamme inhimillisen työn ja sivistyksen alalla toimitettavana. Siinä voi pienikin kansa saavuttaa suurta.

We probably have a field of our own to tend to in the area of human work and culture, and it is not even that an insignificant field. In that field even a small nation can achieve greatness.

Svinhufvud, New Year's Speech 1935

Sen vuoksi odottavat pienet kansat nytkin jännittyneinä ja syvästi huolestuneina yleisen rauhantilan aikaansaamista toivossa, että se on useamman sukupolven ajaksi eteenpäin antava maailmalle turvallisuuden ja tekevä mahdolliseksi kansojen luottavaisen yhteistyön kaikkien menestykseksi.

That is why small nations wait even now with suspense and deep concern the reaching of a state of common peace, believing that it will give the world security for generations to come, and enable trustful cooperation between nations for the success of all.

Paasikivi, New Year's Speech 1948

The link between Achievement values and Spirituality values is also to be noted:

Miten yksityinen tempookin omissa asioissaan, älköön hän unhottako että yhteisen isänmaan henkinen ja aineellinen menestys on kaikkien meidän menestyksen edellytys.

Regardless of the way the individual strains with his own affairs, he must not forget that the spiritual and material success of our common fatherland is the prerequisite of the success of us all

Paasikivi, New Year's Speech 1953

Meillä on täysi syy uskoa, että se, mikä on mahdollista sodassa, on onnistuva myös rauhanajan rakennustyössä. Siinäkin täytyy kansakunnan osata keskittää henkinen, fyysillinen ja taloudellinen voimansa asettamiensa rakentavien päämäärien toteuttamiseen yhtä tehokkaasti kuin ne sodan aikana keskitetään kansan itsenäisyyden ja elämän suojelemiseen. Ja tällainen ponnistelu tuottaa varmaan sekä henkisellä että aineellisella alalla tuloksia, joista tuskin rohkenemme ennakolta uneksiakaan.

We have all reasons to believe that what is possible in war is possible also in construction work in the time of peace. Also in that work the nation must know how to focus its spiritual, physical and economic strength to the constructive aims set, as efficiently as they are focused at the time of war to the protection of the nation's independence and life. And this kind of effort probably produces the kind of results in both spiritual and material levels that we hardly can dream of in beforehand.

Ryti 1941 VPA

7.1.2 OPENNESS-TO-CHANGE VS. CONSERVATION

Openness-to-Change and Conservation dimensions show a different kind of mechanism with less contrast between the two ends than the Self-enhancement vs. Self-Transcendence dimension. Openness-to-Change, which Rohan (2000) calls the Focus on Opportunity end of this dimension, consists of Stimulation and Self-Direction, and partially of Hedonism (which also shares motivational input from the Self-Enhancement dimension, see

Schwartz 1992, 2012). Conservation dimension consists of Conformity, Tradition and Security values. Rohan (2000) calls this dimension Focus on Organization.

7.1.2.1 Openness-to-Change

Hedonism and Stimulation are the least mentioned values in the speeches. Self-Direction is more frequent than either of them, as can also be seen from the previous tables and figures. As a value dimension, of the aspects characterizing Openness-to-Change, the emphasis is mainly on a propensity, a readiness for taking hold of opportunities. The presence of opportunities is viewed as positive, even if change as such might not always be so.

Pitkään kestänyt työttömyyskin voidaan saatujen kokemusten perusteella katkaista [...] Olennaista on tässäkin edistää työttömien valmiutta siirtyä uusiin tehtäviin.

Even longstanding unemployment can be ended [...] The essential thing in this is to further the readiness the unemployed to move on to new tasks.

Koivisto, New Year's Speech, 1983

On sinänsä hyvin ilahduttavaa , että suhteellisen monilla kansalaisilla on ollut mahdollisuus matkustaa ulkomaille . Ne ovat yleensä hyödyllisiä matkoja, joilla näköpiiri avartuu ja oma maa loppujen lopuksi tulee yhä rakkaammaksi *It is as such a very welcome phenomenon that fairly many citizens have had the opportunity to travel abroad. They are usually useful trips, during which the one's views are expanded, and in the end, one's own country becomes even more dear.*

Kekkonen, New Year's Speech, 1964

Hedonism is not mentioned as a goal to pursue in itself, but it is mentioned either in the context of pleasure being the result of hard work, or indirectly where the lack of joy in life is talked about in negative terms. Pleasure is not therefore portrayed as a thing in itself to be pursued; rather, it is portrayed as an absence of suffering, or a result of being blessed by Providence.

Men äfwen den lycklige, hwars önsknigar och behof blifwit af en mild Försyn rikeligen uppfyllda, och som således i ett yttre wälstånd fortfar att njuta endast glada och nöjda dagar, behöfwer ej mindre stöd och ledning af Religionens röst, för att rätteligen kunna begagna alla dessa lyckans fördelar *But even those lucky ones, whose hopes and needs have been met by kind Providence, and who therefore in outward prosperity continue to enjoy days only joyful and satisfying, no less do they need the support and guidance given by the voice of Religion, in order to be able to rightly use the portion of benefits luck has bestowed upon them.*

Nicholas I, Prayer Day Declaration 1827

Voimme odottaa kuluneiden vuosien ponnistusten tulevaisuudessa antavan meille itselle hedelmiä nautittavaksemme ja helpottavan kansalaisten elämää. *We can expect the hard work of the past years to produce for ourselves fruits to enjoy in the future, and to the citizens an easing of their lives.*
Paasikivi, New Year's Speech, 1952

Vaarallinen on puuttuva luottamus itseensä, alakuloisuus, joka kansalta ryöstää elämänhalun ja tylsistyttää yritteliäisyyden. Kansa tarvitsee iloista tarmon tuntoa, joka rohkaisee yhä uusiin ponnistuksiin ja kääntää katseen tulevaisuutta kohti
It is dangerous when there is no self-confidence, melancholy, which robs the people of their will to live and dulls initiative-taking. The people need a joyful sense of vigor, which encourages them time and again towards new endeavors and turns their eyes towards the future.
Paasikivi, New Year's Speech, 1952

Happiness and joy are talked about as values in the speeches, but they are not connected to Hedonism as a source of either. The pursuit of pleasure is not linked to sensual gratification, but pleasure, joy and happiness are seen as a function of reaching of collective goals, often connected to peace (a Universalism value), and to joint efforts.

Menneinä onnen ja rauhan aikoina otettiin uusi vuosi kevein mielin, juhlien ja riemuiten vastaan
In the past times of happiness and peace New Year was received with buoyant hearts, partying and rejoicing.
(Hakala, New Year's Speech, 1942)

"Riemu on rauhan tytär", sanoo suomalainen sananlasku.
Joy is the daughter of peace, says a Finnish proverb.
Paasikivi, New Year's Speech 1950

Eduskunta on näinä kausina kokenut vaikeuksia ja pettymyksiä, mutta sillä on myös ollut ilonaiheita, joista suurin ja parhain on ollut se, että Suomen kansa näissä koettelemuksissa on löytänyt itsensä ja saavuttanut ennen tuntemattoman yksimielisyyden elävästi tuntien yhteisen vastuunsa isänmaan kohtaloista.
The Parliament has in these times experienced difficulties and disappointments, but it has also had causes for happiness, the biggest and best of which has been that the people of Finland have in these tribulations discovered themselves [as a nation]¹⁶⁸ and have reached a hitherto unknown

¹⁶⁸ Words added by the author

sense of unanimity, keenly feeling a joint responsibility for the destiny of the fatherland.

Ryti, Parliament Opening Speech, 1943

Iloitsimme siitä, että 80 vuotta oli Suomea rakennettu ja että se, mikä on aikaansaatu, on osoittautunut kestäväksi

We rejoiced over the fact that Finland has been built for 80 years, and that what has been built has proved to be enduring.

Ahtisaari, Parliament Opening Speech, 1998

In the Prayer Day Declarations (especially, but not only, in the 19th century) happiness and joy are linked to religious concepts, such as the fear of God, sanctified human inclinations, or to moral values¹⁶⁹, such as selflessness and benevolence.

Tämä rakkaus [Jumalaan ja kanssaihmiisiin], vaikka se tämän ajaa piirissä voipi toteutua vain vajavaisesti, on kuitenkin kykenevä lievittämään tai poistamaan ruumiillista ja hengellistä pahetta yhteiskunnassa sekä mahdollisuuden mukaan hankkimaan ihmiselle ulkonaistakin onnellisuutta *This love [of God and fellow men]¹⁷⁰, even though it can only be fulfilled in part during this [life]¹⁷¹time, nevertheless, it is able to alleviate or remove physical and spiritual vice in the society, and, within the limits of the possible, it can also procure a person outward happiness as well.*

Nicholas II, Prayer Day Declaration, 1897

Trust between the ruler and his¹⁷² subjects is also mentioned as the prerequisite of happiness.

Ei mitkään teot Minun puoleltani ole saattaneet hämmentää sitä luottamusta, joka on wälttämätöin Hallitsijan ja kansan kesken. Olkoon tämä luottamus Minun ja Suomen rehellisen sekä uskollisen kansan wälillä, tästä lähtien niin kuin tähänki asti, sinä lujana siteenä, joka meidät yhdistää. Se on sitten woimallisesti auttawa onnellisuuden kartuttamista tässä kansassa, joka Minun sydämelleni aina pysyy kallisna.

No deeds on My behalf could have clouded the trust, which is indispensable between a Regent and the people. Let this trust between Me and the honest and faithful people of Finland be from now on, as it has been up to now, the strong bond that unites us. It will then strongly aide the accumulation of happiness in this nation, which will always be dear to My heart.

(Alexander II, Parliament Opening Speech, 1863)

¹⁶⁹ for further discussion on moral values, see Helkama, 2011; Schwartz 2007b ;Vauclair, 2009

¹⁷⁰ Words added by the author

¹⁷¹ Idem

¹⁷² All the rulers in the present study are male.

Stimulation and Self-Direction appear very similar in the speeches: as Schwartz (1992, 2012) has noted, Stimulation and Self-Direction have similar motivational goals underlying them (*“intrinsic interest in novelty and mastery”*, Schwartz 2012, p. 9). The pursuit of novelty and variety are talked about mainly on societal level, not as goals for merely individuals, except for as an inner renewal. There is also an emphasis on being alert and ready to seize opportunities. Innovation and a general readiness to adapt to changing circumstances is lauded.

Kylmän sodanjälkeinen maailma on kuitenkin suurten mahdollisuuksien aikaa. Näihin mahdollisuuksiin on nyt tartuttava.

After the Cold War the world is in a time of great opportunities. We must now lay hold of these opportunities.

Ahtisaari, Parliament Opening Speech, 1995

Ei riitä, että pyritään uudistamaan ulkonaisia olosuhteita ihmisvoimin.

Tarvitaan sisäistä uudistumista, omantunnon elämän herkistymistä Jumalan voimasta.

It is not enough that we try to renew outer circumstances by human strength. We need inner renewal, the life of our conscience becoming more aware by the power of God.

Paasikivi, Prayer Day Declaration, 1947

Especially in relation to economic success Stimulation values are mentioned as a source of positive development, especially in connection to innovation and the rising of Finnish competitiveness.

Kansainvälisesti menestyneimpiä ovat maat, jotka ovat pystyneet tehokkaasti luomaan uutta tietoa ja hyödyntämään sitä uusissa keksinnöissä ja innovaatioissa.

The most internationally successful countries are the ones which have been able to efficiently create new knowledge and utilize it in its new inventions and innovations.

Ahtisaari, Parliament Opening Speech 1996

Creativity (a Self-Direction value) is also linked to economic success, as a component of the competitiveness necessary for economic stability and well-being, and as can be seen in the last example, it is also used as a motivation for fostering capitalistic free market economy.

[aluepoliittisen positiivisen kehityksen] Onnistuminen vaatii väestön omaa kiinnostusta ja aktiivisuutta kotiseutunsa kehittämiseen ja hyvinvointiin sekä valmiutta uusien asioiden ja asenteiden omaksumiseen.

The success of [the development of regional politics] requires the own interest of the population and its active role in the development of its home region and wellbeing, and readiness to adopt new things and attitudes.

Koivisto, Parliament Opening Speech 1988

Tarvitsemme yhteisvastuuta , sekä sitä luovuutta ja ututteruutta , joka vei meidät aikanaan läpi suurten murrosten menestyvien kansakuntien joukkoon.

We need common responsibility and the kind of creativity and diligence that once , through great changes, took us to the company of successful nations.

Ahtisaari, New Year's Speech 1995

Kansakunnan aloitekyky ja luovat voimat tulevat silloin tehokkaimmin käytetyiksi ja vahvistavat sen taloudellista pohjaa, kun ne saavat mahdollisimman vapaasti koettaa voimiaan ja taitoaan tuotannon lisäämiseen.

The initiative and creative forces of a nation are most efficiently used and strenghten its economic basis, when they can try their forces and skills as freely as possible to increase production.

Kallio, Parliament Opening Speech 1938

The component of Self-Direction that is mostly endorsed is that of collective independence and freedom. The right to independent thought and action is repeatedly affirmed to be both a goal and a value to be pursued on a national level. Personal freedom of action is not elevated above the nation and its interest, even though for instance religious freedom and human rights are talked about as being essential parts of Finnish identity.

Muistakaamme aina, että vapautemme suojaaminen on kallein oikeutemme ja pyhin velvollisuutemme. Kohtalomme on nyt omissa käsissämme.

We should always remember, that the protection of our freedom is our most precious right and our most sacred obligation. Our fate is on in our own hands.

Kallio, New Year's Speech 1938

Kaikille on selvinnyt, että meidän asemassamme yksilön elämä riippuu kansan elämästä ja palvelee sitä. Yksityisen hyvinvointi on mahdollinen vain oman, riippumattoman valtiomme kehyksissä.

It has become clear to all, that in our position the life of the individual depends on and serves the life of the nation. Private wellbeing is possible only within the frames of our own, independent state.

Ryti, New Year's Speech 1941

Mutta toisaalta on syytä korostaa, että pienen kansakunnan turvallisuuspolitiikan on onnistuakseen imettävä voimaa tietynasteisesta kansallisesta itsetunnosta ja omasta edusta huolehtimisesta.

But on the other hand is should be stressed, that in order for it to succeed, the security politics of a small nation must draw strenght from a certain degree

of national esteem and from the protection of its own interests.

Kekkonen, Parliament Opening Speech 1980¹⁷³

On a personal level Self-Direction is mostly talked about as freedom of choice, usually linked to other value types, to e.g. Universalism, as in the example below.

Vastuullisuuteen kuuluu myös elinympäristön säilyttäminen ja kehittäminen, jota jokainen voi tukea omilla valinnoillaan.

Responsibility includes also the preservation and development of the living environment, which everyone can support with his own choices.

Koivisto, Prayer Day Declaration 1992

Naturally independence as a single value, and therefore Openness-to-Change values as a whole, go up sharply during 1917-1919, as Finland becomes an independent Republic, and again during the years of the Winter War and the Continuation War.

Me olemme joutuneet elämämme suurimpaan kamppailuun, jossa on kysymys maamme ja kansamme tulevaisuudesta, sen vapaudesta tai orjuudesta. Mutta orjan iestä ei tämä kansa ole koskaan kantanut ja sen tähden se ponnistaa nytkin voimansa elääkseen.

We have been forced to the greatest fight of our life, which concerns the future of our land and nation, its freedom or slavery. But this nation has never been under the yoke of slavery and that is why it also now pushes its strength in order to live.

(Kallio, Parliament Opening Speech, 1940)

However, military threat to independence evokes similar wordings throughout, linking independence to sacrifice, security and strong will.

WÅRT Rikes sjelfständighet är tryggad, och den trampade menskligheten, förtwiflande nyss om sin räddning, lyfter redan en förhoppningsfull blick mot den sällare framtid, som wisar sig, efter de uppoffringar WI gjort och, de segrar WI, genom Den Högstes wälsignelse, wunnit.

OUR kingdoms independence has been secured, and the downtrodden humanity, which so recently was desperate for its salvation, already lifts hopeful eyes to the more blissfull future, which shows itself, after the sacrifices WE made and the victories WE, through the blessing of the Most High, have won.

Alexander I, Prayer Day Declaration 1812

Vihollinen hyökkäsi tälläkin kertaa maatamme vastaan, mutta huolimatta edellisen sodan uuvutuksista on urhea armeijamme vapauttanut ei ainoastaan menetetyt alueet, vaan myöskin saanut maallemme turvallisemmat rajat samalla pelastaen sorretut heimolaisemme.

¹⁷³ As at this point his dementia had already set in quite strongly, it is highly unlikely that these opinions were his own, but most likely mirror those of his aides/staff.

Also this time the enemy attacked against our country, but despite the weariness caused by the previous war, our brave army has freed not only the lost areas, but also got our country safer borders, and at the same time rescued our oppressed kinsmen.

Hakkila, New Year's Speech 1942

Pitäkäämme silmiemme edessä kirkkaana ja sumenemattomana Suomen kansan alkuperäinen ja ainoa taistelutavoite: vapaus, itsenäisyys ja turvallisuus.

Let us hold bright and clear before our eyes the original and only fighting aim of the Finnish nation: freedom, independence and security.

Linkomies, New Year's Speech 1944

Tämä juhluvuosi muistuttakoon kansakuntamme kyvystä nousta kansalliseen tietoisuuteen, rakentaa itsenäisen elämän edellytykset, hankkia itsenäisyys ja puolustaa sitä.

Let this jubilee year remind us of our nation's ability to gain national self-awareness, to build the preconditions of independent life, to gain independence and to protect it.

Koivisto, New Year's Speech 1992

7.1.2.2 Conservation values: Conformity, Tradition and Security

The dimension of Conservation is necessary for maintain the coherence and stability of any society. The purpose of Conservation values is to ensure the ongoing well-being of society's and the groups and individuals that it is made of.

Conservation values become more salient in unstable time, especially Security values increase when there is a perceived threat (e.g. see Verkasalo, Goodwin, Bezmenova, 2011). All societies need some predictability and certainty, and the stability of institutions (e.g. the Parliament or the Presidency) enables societies to function and to continue in time.

The relative importance of Conservation values will be discussed later (see section 7.2.1). As will be seen, Conservation values have kept their proportional ratio virtually intact during the entire period of this study, and of the three values Conservation dimension consists of, Conformity has been the most important one.

Of the Conservation values the most salient one is Conformity, especially as adherence to laws (obedience) and as promotion of coordinated action and thought¹⁷⁴. It is therefore closely linked to Security values and with Work-

¹⁷⁴ Finnish has a number of words starting with "yhteis" which, according to MOT dictionary, means "co-, collective, joint, aggregate, collaborative". It can function as an adjectival prefix to various nouns, e.g. the word for 'society': 'yhteiskunta' from yhteis +kunta (body, municipality) = 'being a body together'. While linguistic analysis per se is outside of the scope of the present study, it would seem

related values (but see Myyry & Helkama, 2001). Conformity is also portrayed as a means to success (an Achievement value).

Yhtenäistyvä Eurooppa voi omalta osaltaan lähettää yhteisymmärryksen ja yhteistoiminnan viestejä .

The unifying Europe can on its own behalf send messages of common [shared] understanding and working jointly together.

Koivisto, New Year's Speech 1990

Menestymisen perusedellytys on, että kansaan saadaan istutetuksi voimakas lainkuuliaisuuden henki, niin että jokainen kunnan kansalainen käsittää kunnia-asiakseen kunnioittaa lakia ja toisen laillista oikeutta ja koskemattomuutta. Vain tällä tiellä päästään päämäärään, vain lakiakunnioittavana kansana voi Suomen kansa menestyä ja säilyttää kunnialla sijansa kulttuurikansojen joukossa.

The basis of success is that a strong law-abiding spirit is planted in the people in such a way that each real citizen regards it as his or her honorable duty to respect the law and the rights of others as well as their lawful immunity. Only along this road will we reach our goal, only as a people who respect the law, can Finland prosper and maintain with honor its place among the nations.

Relander, Parliament Opening Speech 1930

The most highly endorsed values in the speeches in the first half of the 19th century seemed to be very stable. The underlying assumption of how a nation holds itself together, and what the role of Conformity in it is, is summed up in this excerpt from the Prayer Day Declaration of 1837.

Tillflygt och skygd af rättwist skipade lagar hafwen I alla ägt uti Edra medborgerliga rättigheter och lofliga näringsfång. Tacksamt erkänna Christeliga Undersåter, med trohet och lydnad, hwar i sin stad, denna oskattbara lott, iakttagande icke blott de werldsliga rätterna "af fruktan," utan fastmer af fri och helig wördnad för de Gudomliga, för det yppersta budet, kärlekens ewiga lag, alla lagars lefwande rot.

You have all had the the protection and security of righteously established laws as you have been excercising your rights as citizens and have been earning your permissible sustenance. Gratefully acknowledge, O Christian subjects, with faithfulness and obedience, each in his own state, this priceless lot, without taking into account merely the wordly rights "out of fear", but much more out of free and holy veneration of the Divine, for the highest commandment, the eternal law of love, the living root of all laws.

Conformity values aim at the stability of the relations in the in-group. This is done by promoting harmony through not upsetting or violating accepted

that the presence of this and similar words (adjectival suffixes) denoting "joint-ness" might be taken as linguistically coded ways of highlighting conformity.

social norms, and through restraint of actions that could challenge the status quo or be perceived as harmful. The focus is in the fulfillment of the expectations of those with whom one is in close contact, which in this data often is also taken to mean other nations. Schwartz (2012, p.7) also points out that this aspect leads to there being an element of reacting to the possible changing current expectations perceived to be posed by the in-group in contrast to the more abstract and permanent expectations Tradition values entail.

Conformity values are talked about both at the level of citizens as well as that of the nation as a whole. The following excerpt from the very first New Year's Speech highlights the felt necessity to foster harmony on a national level. This was all the more necessary in order to as there were still existing tensions as a legacy of the Civil War of 1918.¹⁷⁵

Kansalaiset! Olemme uuden vuoden kynnyksellä. Viettäköämme sen ensimmäistä viikkoa, samoin kuin vuosi sitten, sovinnollisuuden, yhteisymmärryksen ja rauhan merkeissä. Täten ulkonaisestikin osoitamme lujan päätöksemme yhteisvoimin ponnistella vaikeuksia vastaan, jotka edelleen järkyttävät maailmaa, uhaten turmiolla heikkoja ja epäroivia.
Citizens! We are at the threshold of the new year. Let us spend its first week, just like a year ago, the sign of readiness to conciliate, mutual understanding and peace. This way we will also outwardly show our determination to labour together against the difficulties, which still shake the world, threatening with destruction the weak and the hesitant.
 Svinhufvud, New Year's Speech 1935

On the level of national policy the aspect of restraint from upsetting close others (especially as referring to the relations with the Soviet Union) has been often criticized as a form of 'Finlandization'¹⁷⁶, whereas in the speeches it was seen as a part of geopolitical wisdom and reality.

Tämän eduskunnan osalle tulee ennen kaikkea yksissä neuvoin hallituksen kanssa suunnata kansan koko voima ja yksimielinen tahto lupauksiemme ja velvoitustemme täyttämiseen itäistä naapuriamme kohtaan sekä luoda pysyvät ystävälliset, yhteisille harrastuksille ja keskinäiselle luottamukselle pohjautuvat suhteet Neuvostoliittoon.
The first and foremost task of this Parliament is, in accordance with the Government, to direct the people's entire power and will towards the fulfilling of our promises and obligations towards our Easterly neighbor;

¹⁷⁵ For a more detailed discussion of the divisions of the society in the 1930s, see chapter 3

¹⁷⁶ A term coined during the Cold War in 1961 by the German political scientist, Lowenthal, to exemplify the kind of influence a powerful neighboring nation could have on a smaller one's policies, both foreign and domestic, a kind of adaptive acquiescence. For a more in-depth discussion, see Mouritzen, 1988; Sariola, 1982.

and to create abiding friendly relations with the Soviet Union, which are based on common interests and mutual trust.

Mannerheim, Parliament Opening Speech 1945

Mitä maamme ulkopoliitiikkaan tulee, uudistan, että kansamme haluaa elää vapaana ja rauhallisissa väleissä muiden maiden kanssa sekaantumatta niiden mahdollisiin eturistiriitoihin. Suhteessamme itäiseen naapurimaahamme Neuvostoliittoon päämääränämme, kuten useasti olen julkituonut, on, täyttäen tehdyt sopimukset ja ylläpitäen hyviä naapurisuhteita sekä edistäen taloudellista ynnä muuta vuorovaikutusta maidemme välillä, ohjata politiikkaamme johdonmukaisesti samaa linjaa, mikä syksystä 1944 alkaen on ollut sen ohjeena. Ei ole erimielisyyttä siitä, että tämä on järkähtämättä oleva tulevaisuudessakin politiikkamme suunta ja päämäärä.

As far as our foreign policy is concerned, I say again, that our nation wants to live in freedom and have peaceful relations with other countries without getting involved in their potentially conflicting interests. In our relationship with Easterly neighbor, the Soviet Union, our goal is, as I have repeatedly stated, to fulfill the obligations of the agreements we made, and by maintaining good neighborly relationships as well as furthering economic and other interaction between our nations, we will direct our policies consistently on the same line as we have been following since the autumn of 1944. There is no disagreement over this being even in the future the unshakable direction and goal of our policies.

Paasikivi, Parliament Opening Speech 1950

Conformity is also quoted as forming the ground on which both domestic politics and foreign policy stand, especially when understood as the importance of following and complying with agreements, treaties and laws. Therefore all actions bringing about an agreement are perceived to be very important.¹⁷⁷

Kansainvälisen politiikan laajalla alalla Suomen ulkopoliitikalle on antanut leiman suurvaltojen välisten eturistiriitojen ulkopuolella pysyttäytyminen. Suomi ei kuitenkaan tämän ohjelauseen mukaan toimiessaan onohda omia kansallisia näkökohtiaan enempää kuin solmimissaan sopimuksissa itselleen ottamia velvoituksiaan. Tämä tulee esille erityisesti siinä, että Suomi on aktiivisesti niiden toimintojen kannalla, jotka edistävät rauhaa maailmassa. Suomen ulkopoliitiikka rakentuu sille lujalle pohjalle, jonka Suomen ja Neuvostoliiton välillä vuonna 1948 solmittu YYA-sopimus on luonut. Yhteistyö Suomen ja Neuvostoliiton välillä on saavuttanut vakiintuneet olot ja

¹⁷⁷ A prime example of this is the 1975 Conference on Security And Co-Operation in Europe held in Helsinki, result of an initiative launched by President Kekkonen. It produced the Treaty of Helsinki, an agreement concerning European frontiers, human rights and non-intervention, which 35 nations signed.

kehitysedellytykset.

In the large field of international politics Finnish foreign policy has been characterized by the stance of Finland staying outside of the conflict of interests of the superpowers. This guiding principle has not meant that Finland forgets her own national points of view any more than Finland will forget the obligations she has assumed on entering into the agreements that have been made. This can be especially seen in the fact that Finland is actively in favor of those actions which promote peace in the world. Finland's foreign policy is built on the stable foundation of the 1948 FCMA treaty between Finland and the Soviet Union. Collaboration between Finland and the Soviet Union has reached stable conditions and requisites for future development.

Kekkonen, Parliament Opening Speech 1977

Neuvostoliiton hajoaminen on johtanut siihen, että kaikki keskeiset sopimusjärjestelyt itäisen naapurimme kanssa on uusittu. Meidän perusasenteemme hyvän naapuruuden politiikkaan on kuitenkin ennallaan. *The break-up of the Soviet Union has led to all central agreements with our Easterly neighbor being renewed. Our basic attitude towards good neighborly relationships remains intact.*

Koivisto, Parliament Opening Speech 1992

Conformity values are also closely linked to Security values (e.g. sense of belonging), as also the excerpt below shows, in which the call for unified action is motivated by evoking the sense of belonging to an in-group comprising all Finns.

Älkäämme unohtako, että yhdessä jaamme samat vaiheet, menestyksen ja vastoinikäymisen; ettei maailmassa kukaan ole meitä lähempänä kuin omat kansalaisemme ja ettei valtakunnan rajojen ulkopuolella ole ketään, joilla olisi yhtä paljon ja yhtä tärkeitä yhteisiä pyrkimyksiä kuin niillä, jotka ovat Suomen kansan jäseniä.

Let us not forget that together we share the same phases, success and difficulties; that there is nobody in the world closer to us than our own citizens, and that outside the borders of our nation there are no others, who would have as many and as important common endeavours as those have, who members of the people of Finland.

Svinhufvud, New Year's Speech 1936

Conformity values are also about politeness (in order not to upset the harmony of close relationships), and in this data one of the main instances of this is the showing of gratitude. It is mentioned in Prayer Day Declarations in connection to God, but is also talked about as a national level phenomenon.

Rukous on ollut kansakuntien elämässä ja historian eri vaiheissa merkityksellinen. Se ilmaisee kansakunnan turvautumista Jumalaan ja kiitollisuutta tärkeinä hetkinä.

Prayer has been significant in lives of nations and in their various historical phases. It expresses the nation's trust in God and its gratefulness in important moments.

Koivisto, Prayer Day Declaration 1989

Me olemme kiitollisia siitä tuesta ja avusta, jota Ruotsi viimeisinä kohtalokkaina vuosina on monissa muodoissa meille antanut.

We are grateful for the support and the help that Sweden during the last fateful years has given us in many ways.

Ryti, Parliament Opening Speech 1942

Gratitude is linked to honoring not only the older members of society, but honoring also those who are either in a formal position requiring for it (such as Czars and Presidents) or honoring who have done something praiseworthy according to the socially established criteria (e.g. sports, military exploits).¹⁷⁸

Sen jälkeen se [Eduskunta] on syvällä tyydytyksellä ja nöyrällä kiitollisuudella saanut nähdä Suomen omien joukkojen sankarillisesti taistellen vapauttavan menetetyn Karjalan ja heittävän vihollisen kauas vanhojen rajojemme taakse. *After this it [the Parliament]¹⁷⁹ has with deep satisfaction and with humble gratitude, seen Finland's own troops fighting heroically and liberate the lost Karelia, and throw the enemy far beyond our old borders.*

Ryti, Parliament Opening Speech 1943

Another value of the Conservation dimension is Tradition. The motivation behind Tradition values is a commitment to accept and to uphold the ideas, customs, and beliefs that one's culture or religion provides (Schwartz 1992, 2012). The emphasis is on the leaning on something that has already been proven and done: its focus is on the past, rather than on the current situation or the future.

Oryggelige wid den föresats att samwetsgrannt följa den ädle Furstes grundsatser, som, aldraförst förenade Edert Land med det Ryska Kejsaredömet, [...]sträfwä derhän, att Wår Regering måtte blifwa en wärdig fortsättning af Hans styrelse, hafwe Wi med nöje förnummit, det enahanda oskrymtade känslor af undersätelig wördnad, kärlek och tillgifwenhet, hwarmed I omfattat Eder i Herranom hwilande oförgätelige Kejsare [...] *Steadfastly, with the plan to conscientiously follow the principles of the noble Prince, who was the first to join the Your Land with the Russian Empire [...] striving that Our Reign might become a worthy continuation of His reign, have We with joy been aware of the singlemindedly guileless feelings of subordinate esteem, love and tenderness, with which you have surrounded your unforgettable Emperor, who rests in the Lord.*

Nicholas I, Prayer Day Declaration 1827/1

¹⁷⁸ For a fuller discussion on honor and values, see Helkama et. al, 2012.

¹⁷⁹ Word added by the author

One of the functions of Tradition values is to ensure for the group the continuity of the system a particular culture has developed to represent its “*shared experience and fate*” (Schwartz, 2012, p.6). As with Conformity, at the core is the subordination of the self for socially imposed expectations, but the emphasis is subordination to rather more abstract constructs rather than actual other actors.

Hiljainen ja hurskas kotielämä, esi-isien yksinkertaiset tavat, ahkeruus ja tyytyväisyys ovat suureksi osaksi häipyneet, ja katkeruus täyttää monien mielen.

Quiet and pious domestic life, the simple habits of the forefathers, diligence and contentment have vanished to a large extent, and bitterness fills the minds of many.

The Government, Prayer Day Declaration 1922

De sedliga band, som böra sammanhålla Samhällen, betrygga deras bestånd och befordra deras framskridande till allt större förädling och fullkomlighet, blifwa sålunda icke sällan brutna af dem, hwilka i daglig bön till allas Fader utropa: ske Din wilje, såsom i himmelen, så ock på jorden.

The moral bonds, which are needed to keep societies together, safeguarding their existence and promoting their advancement towards ever greater nobility and fullness, [these] will not therefore be often broken by those, who in daily prayer will cry out to the Father of all: may Your will be done, as it is in heaven, so also on earth

Nicholas I, Prayer Day Declaration 1847

Continuation of an accepted and proven way of conduct is mainly upheld as a political value, especially as this relates to relationships with other (mainly the surrounding) nations.

Ulkopolitiikassa meidän on syytä pyrkiä yhtenäiseen esiintymiseen ja korostaa jatkuvuutta. Tämä antaa luontaisen toimintapohjan ulkopoliitikassa tasavallan presidentille.

In our foreign policy we need to strive for a cohesive appearance and we need to emphasize continuity. This gives a natural basis for action in foreign policy to the president of the Republic.

Koivisto, Parliament Opening Speech 1994

During wars and their aftermaths Tradition values were linked to a Nordic way of life. As the following example shows, paradoxically Tradition values were also talked about as giving the basis for Openness-to-Change as well as to Achievement.

Verta vuotavana ja tuskasta värysten Suomen kansan parhaimmisto nousi puoltamaan isiensä maata ja isiensä oikeusjärjestystä, kansamme toiminnan,

ajatuksen sekä uskon oikeutta ja vapautta kapinoitsijoiden ja heidän vieraiden avustajiensa sortoa vastaan.

Bleeding and quivering with pain the best of Finland rose to defend their fathers' land and their fathers judicial system, the rightness of the actions of our nation and of its thoughts and beliefs, against the tyranny of the rebels and their foreign helpers

Government, Prayer Day Declaration 1918

Aikaa meillä ei suinkaan ollut liikaa ennen uuden myrskyn puhkeamista. Se riitti kuitenkin lujittamaan yhteiskuntamme perusteet ja kasvattamaan kansamme vanhan pohjoismaisen kansanvallan kestäväällä pohjalla vaaran uhatessa yksimieliseksi ja ehyeksi.

By no means did we have too much time before the outbreaking of a new storm. The time was sufficient to strengthen the foundations of our society, and to bring up our nation on the enduring basis of ancient Nordic democracy to be unbroken and of one mind in front of danger

Hakkila, New Year's Speech 1942

Suomen demokraattinen valtio- ja yhteiskuntajärjestys rakentuu ikivanhalle pohjoismaiselle perustalle, ja mitä tulee itse kunkin aikakauden vaatimiin uudistuksiin on vähälukuinen kansamme usein niissä kulkenut suurten edellä.

Finland's democratic system of government and its organization of its society is built on ancient Nordic foundation, and as far as the renewals each era requires, has our nation, few in number though it is, often marched before those greater.

Mannerheim, Parliament Opening Speech 1945

In connection to religion, Tradition values are evoked mainly when the emphasis is on keeping the customs rather than the content religion provides. As the Prayer Day Declarations were, so to speak, an intrusion of the State into the Church, the interests of both institutions are often presented as one. Humility is also extolled as a virtue, often linked with gratitude.

Lären, af andra Nationers exempel och tidernas warnande röst [...]att förakt för Religion alstrar förakt för Lagar, Öfwerhet, ordning, mensklighet, dygd; upplöser sedernas band, och med dem, Samhällets

Learn from the example of other Nations and from the warning voice of time [...]that despising of Religion begets despising of laws, the Authorities, order, humanity, virtue; it severs the ties of customs, and with that, those of Society
Alexander I, Prayer Day Declaration 1812

Nöyrytkäämme siis Jumalan väkevän käden alle kiitollisesti tunnustaen, että Herra on ahdingossamme auttanut meitä.

Let us humble our selves under the powerful hand of God humbly confessing that the Lord has helped us in our troubles.

Ryti, Prayer Day Declaration 1942/1

Tradition is also viewed as something negative, as President Kekkonen underlined in his New Year's Speech of 1972:

Siitä ei kuitenkaan päästä pakoon , että viime kädessä on kysymys sekä talouspoliittisista että nimenomaan poliittisista ratkaisuksista , joita ei saada aikaan vanhanaikaisten ajatustottumusten varassa , vaan joiden tekemiseksi on tarpeen aivan uusi suhtautuminen asioihin .

We cannot escape that it is in the end a question of decision concerning financial policy, and primarily political solutions, which cannot be achieved based on traditional ways of thinking, but which require completely new ways of responding to things.

Security values are drawn upon most often in connection to various threats to national security, be they external or internal, or rising from wars or famines, or from unstable political events.

Ihmiskunnan turvallisuus voidaan taata vain ryhtymällä konkreettisiin toimiin ydinsodan vaaran torjumiseksi sekä vähentämällä keskinäisesti olemassaolevien ydinaseiden määrää tavoitteena yleinen ja täydellinen aseidenriisunta tehokkaan valvonnan alaisena.

The security of humankind can only be guaranteed by taking concrete actions towards repelling the danger of nuclear war, and by mutually agreeing to the diminishing of the amount of existing nuclear weapons, aiming at a general and complete disarmament supervised by an efficient body of control.

Koivisto New Year's Speech 1983

Personal or individual security is talked about in connection to the larger frame of national concerns, or in connection to Benevolence values as care for the weaker members of the society.

Uhkaawain waarain ja yleisempäin witsausten Teitä häiritsemättä olette Te saaneet nauttia rauhan siunauksia ja lakienne turwissa työskennellä Teidän yhteiskunnallisen tilanne rauhalliseksi edistymiseksi

Without being disturbed by threatening danger or more common scourges, you have been able to enjoy the blessings of peace and continue to work, sheltered by your laws, for the peaceful development of your societal state.

Alexander II, Prayer Day Declaration, 1872

Aikamme eräänä tunnussanana on sosiaalinen turvallisuus. Se on tavoittelemisen arvoinen päämäärä, mutta suuresti erehdytään, jos luullaan sen toteuttamisella ratkaistavan aikamme syvimmat vaikeudet ja sairaudet. Sosiaalinen turvallisuus merkitsee kaikesta huolimatta vain ulkonaisten elämänehtojen oikeudenmukaisempaa järjestelyä, mutta se ei riitä. On

saatava syntymään myös sisäinen rauha ja turvallisuus, joka kestää vaikeissakin olosuhteissa.

One of the passwords for our times is social security. It is a goal worthy of pursuit, but it is a grave error to think that by implementing it we will be able to solve the deepest difficulties and ailments of our times. Social security means after all only the more just organization of outer conditions for life, but that is not enough. We also need to bring about inner peace and security, which can resist even difficult times.

Kekkonen, Prayer Day Declaration 1952

Especially President Kekkonen and the successful initiative to bring the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to Helsinki in 1975 fostered the sense of Finland's national mission as a promoter of peace and security in Europe and in the world. This was underlined especially as an effort to promote nuclear disarmament in the Nordic countries.

Suomi on valmis jatkossakin antamaan panoksensa ponnisteluihin, joiden tarkoituksena on lujittaa Euroopan turvallisuutta. Erityisesti haluamme varmistaa Pohjolan alueen pysymisen kansainvälisen jännityksen ulkopuolella.

Finland is ready to even in the future give its input to the efforts which aim at fortifying European security. Especially we want to make sure Nordic countries stay outside of international tensions.

Kekkonen Parliament Opening Speech 1975

Security values were mentioned also in connection to Conformity and Work-related values, as the following examples show.

Konferenssin (CSCE) opetuksia oli myös se, että turvallisuus ja yhteistyö kuuluvat erottamattomasti yhteen.

One of the teachings of the CSCE conference was also that security and working together are inseparable.

Kekkonen, New Year's Speech 1976

Kun kansa joutuu suuriin vaikeuksiin ja vaaroihin, voi se niistä selviytyä vain, jos sillä on oikeudenmukainen, kansan käsityksiä ja toiveita vastaava yhteiskuntamuoto ja -järjestys. Vain sen pohjalla voi vaaran hetkellä syntyä kaikkia yhdistävä ja kaikkia elähdyttävä yhteisvastuun- ja yhteenkuuluvaisuudentunto, joka on menestymisen välttämätön edellytys.

When a nation gets into great difficulties and dangers, it can survive only if it has a societal form and order, which is fair and which corresponds to the opinion of the people and their hopes. Only on that basis can at the moment of danger be born a feeling of joint responsibility and a sense of belonging together, which are necessary requisites for success.

Ryti, New Years Speech 1941

7.1.2.3 Openness-to-Change vs. Conservation dimension

Albeit talking about independence as a nation as the highest good, there is still the tension between promoting social control and on the other hand ensuring the freedom of choice and independence in general. The following quotes from president Koivisto's Parliament Opening Speeches illustrate the point.

Suomessa ja muuallakin esiintyy taipumusta yksilön vapauksiin viitaten suhtautua torjuvasti valvonnan ja sosiaalisen kontrollin tehostamiseen, vaikka se olisi tarpeen muiden yksilöiden puolustamiseksi.

In Finland and elsewhere there manifests a propensity to refer to the rights of the individual as a basis to have a negative attitude towards the intensifying of social control and surveillance, even if it would be necessary for the protection of other individuals.

Koivisto, Parliament Opening Speech 1990

Ilmeisesti Suomenkin kansa haluaa kokea samanaikaisesti sekä turvallisuutta että epävarmuuden aiheuttamaa jännitystä [...] Valtioliisessa toiminnassa pitää pääpainon tietysti olla yhteisten asioiden vakaalla ja tempoilemattomalla hoidolla, mutta vaihtelua ja väriäkin välillä kaivataan, kunhan perusasiat hoidetaan eikä mitään yhteisesti arvokkaana pidettävää tarpeettomasti vaaranneta.

Apparently the people of Finland want to experience simultaneously both security and the excitement brought about by uncertainty [...] In national functioning the main emphasis must be on the taking care of common affairs in an even manner, avoiding brusque movements, but there is space for color and variety every once in a while, as long as the basic functions are taken care of and nothing which is commonly held to be valuable is put in jeopardy.

Koivisto, Parliament Opening Speech 1987

One way in which the tension is also present is in e.g. freedom and change being portrayed as a source of negative outcomes.

Omana aikanamme on kuitenkin yhä useampi ihminen menettänyt elämän kestävän pohjan ja pyrkinyt rakentamaan turvallisuutensa aineellisen hyvinvoinnin varaan. Sen pettäessä on jouduttu kokemaan suurta turvattomuutta. Sitä ovat usein pahentaneet ristiriidat perhe- ja ihmissuhteissa sekä nopea arvomaailman muutos, jossa tuttu ja turvallinen saa väistyä uuden ja tuntemattoman tieltä.

In our times, however, an increasing number of people have lost the stable foundation of their lives, and have tried to build their security on material wellbeing. When that has collapsed, people have experienced great insecurity. This has often been worsened by conflicts in families and in personal relationships, as well as by rapid changes in societal values, during which the familiar and safe has had to make way for the new and unknown.

Ahtisaari, Prayer Day Declaration 1997

Suomessakin arvomaailma on kääntynyt selvästi itsekkäämpään ja kovempaan suuntaan . Vapaus muuttuu häikäilemättömyydeksi , jos ihmiseltä puuttuu nöyryys ja sitoutuminen oman yhteisön palvelemiseen .
In Finland too values have clearly turned toward more selfish and hard values. Freedom turns into unscrupulousness, if a person lacks humility and commitment to serve his or her own community.

Ahtisaari, New Year's Speech 1999

7.1.3 NON-SVT VALUES: WORK-RELATED VALUES, SPIRITUALITY AND EDUCATION

The three Non-SVT values do not form a unified dimension. Therefore each will be looked at separately.

7.1.3.1 *Work-related values*¹⁸⁰

Työ on aina ollut maailmassa varmin arvojen luoja. Meidän karussa, kaukaisessa maassamme on sitä aina pidetty kunniaa, ja Suomen kansa on ahkerasta uurastuksestaan tunnettu

Work has always been in the world the most secure way to create value. In our faraway, barren land it has always been held in esteem, and Finnish people are renown for their diligent hard work.

Pekkala, New Year's Speech 1945 Pekkala

Work-related values consist of a range of singular values (hard-working, diligent, punctual, conscientious, orderly, long-term planning, frugal) all of which are present in the speeches.

One of the common threads in the speeches is that work in and of itself has an intrinsic value, and is therefore laudable. Following from this, unwillingness to work is seen as very negative.

[...] med måttligare tillgångar förena en ökad sparsamhet, omtanka och flit, försakelse och måtta äfwen i anspråk och njutningar; samt framför allt att från sin boning och umgängelse bannlysa öfwerflöd, sysslolöshet, lättsinne och öfwermod, med sina nesliga foster i owärdiga och brottsliga så wäl ord, som handlingar[...]

[...] uniting with moderate supplies augmented thrift, discretion and diligence; renunciation and moderation even in demands and pleasures;

¹⁸⁰ These could also have been termed Protestant Ethic values, but as these were found also in the speeches of the Greek Orthodox Czars, the term seemed to be somewhat misleading, and therefore this other term was chosen for the generic name of the category. See also Helkama et al. (2012) for similar use.

and above all, to banish from their abode and conversation extravagance, idleness, frivolity and pride, with their base spawns of unworthy and criminal both words and deeds[...]

Nicholas II, Prayer Day Declaration 1837

Siunatkoon Jumala teidän kiitettävää ahkeruuttanne ja teidän hyödyllistä tointanne, harrastaissanne yhteisesti Minun kanssani kartuttaa ja vakauttaa Maan onnellista menestymistä.

May God bless your laudable diligence and your useful toiling, as you,

together with Me strive to accumulate and make more stable the happy success of the Land

Alexander II, Parliament Opening Speech 1867

To be hard working is often talked about in connection of difficulties, e.g. wars, rebuilding in the aftermath of wars, or during recovery from economic hardships, as in the following excerpts. The solution to crises is linked to perseverance and diligence.

Yksimielisesti käyköön nyt Suomen kansa sisällisesti rakentavaan ja uudistavaan työhön. Rakentakoon rakkaus ja työ, minkä viha on hävittänyt. *Let the Finnish people of one accord now start working for the healing and renewing within [the land and nation]¹⁸¹. Let love and work build what anger destroyed.*

Government, Prayer Day Declaration 1918

Ainoaksi ulospääsyn tieksi (taloudellisista vaikeuksista)¹⁸² jää kaikkien kansalaispiirien ahkeruus ja uuttera työ.

The only way out (of economic difficulties) remains the diligence and hard work of all citizens.

Kekkonen, Parliament Opening Speech 1974

Work is also depicted as something intrinsically beneficial, and the aim of work is the well-being and prospering of the nation and its inhabitants.

Maamme valtiollinen elämä on jatkuvasti vakiintunut tarjoten entistä suurempia mahdollisuuksia rauhalliselle ja tulokselliselle työskentelylle maan ja kansan hyväksi.

Our national life has constantly stabilized, offering ever larger possibilities for peaceful and fruitful work for the good of the land and the people.

Relander, Parliament Opening Speech 1927

¹⁸¹ Words added by the author

¹⁸² Words added by the author

This prosperity is often spoken of in terms of economic success, wealth (Power values) and achievement (Achievement value).

Totesin , että Suomen kansainvälinen asema on nyt hyvä, ehkä parempi kuin koskaan itsenäisyytemme aikana. Tämä tilanne ei tietenkään ole pysyvä: sen eteen on tehtävä arkista työtä joka päivä.

I remarked that Finland's international position is now good, maybe even better than it has ever been during our independence. This situation is naturally not permanent: we must do ordinary work every day to maintain it so.

Ahtisaari, New Year's Speech 1997

The protection of work as well as fighting unemployment are seen as necessary not merely from a financial point of view, but as part and parcel of what is necessary for life in general.

Meidän ei tosin pidä antautua liialliseen itsetyytyväisyyteen, mutta voimme tiynellä mielin katsella saavutuksiamme. Kansan ututtera työ saa suuria aikaan, kun se saa rauhassa ja täydellä teholla jatkaa.

We should not give in to too much self-satisfaction, but we can calmly look at our achievements. The diligent work of the people brings about great things, when it is allowed to continue in peace and at full strength

Paasikivi, New Year's Speech 1952

Työttömyys ei ole vielä oleellisesti hellittänyt[...] Tämä uhkaa maamme suurinta voimavaraa: ihmisten täysipainoista osallistumista oman maansa ja oman tulevaisuutensa rakentamiseen.

Unemployment has not yet fundamentally relented [...] This threatens our nations greatest resource: the full participation of the people in the building of their own land and their own future.

Ahtisaari, New Year's Speech 1995

Work-related values are mentioned in connection to Education values, often in ways in which the goals of both values are supported and achieved by the implementation of the other.

Suomen kansan kehitys sivistyskansaksi on tapahtunut, kiitos sen työteliäisyyden, säästäväisyyden ja lannistumattoman eteenpäinpyrkimyksen. *The development of the Finnish people into a cultured nation has happened thanks to their industriousness, thrift and undaunted forward thrust*

Paasikivi, New Year's Speech 1949

Suomalaiset ovat ahkeraa ja osaavaa väkeä . Talouselämän ja yhteiskunnan tuleva kehitys riippuu paljolti siitä , miten hyvin osaamme käyttää ja kehittää tietoa ja taitoa

Finns are diligent and capable people. The future development of our economy and our society depends largely on how well we can use and

develop knowledge and know-how.

Koivisto, New Year's Speech 1983

Work-related values appear both alone and as a composite part of the word 'yhteistyö' and 'yhteistoiminta'. Both can be translated as "alliance, collaboration, cooperation, liaison, association, co-ordination, teamwork", but with the added emphasis in Finnish of the work-component of the word. The same concept is also expressed in separate words as 'yksimielinen työ' (meaning "united, unanimous work"). Thus these expressions unite both Conformity and Work-related values.

Käykäämme edelleen Luojaamme luottaen yhteisvoimin yhteistyöhön!

Let us, with joint strength and trusting our Creator, work jointly together!

Kallio, New Year's Speech 1939

This "collaboration" was often evoked both on domestic policy level, but it was also mentioned as a recipe for successful international policy, especially in relation to the Nordic countries and the Soviet Union.

Esteet ETYKn tieltä kyettiin poistamaan ja vuosikymmenen puolivälissä osanottajavaltioiden korkeimmat poliittiset johtajat allekirjoittivat Helsingissä päätösasiakirjan, joka loi puitteet turvallisuuden ja yhteistyön vahvistamiselle Euroopassa.

We managed to clear away the obstacles in front of CSCE, and in the middle of the decade the highest political leaders of the nations participating in it, signed in Helsinki the final act, which created the terms of reference for strengthening of security and cooperation in Europe.

Kekkonen, New Year's Speech 1980

7.1.3.2 Spirituality

In the speeches Spirituality values comprise not merely values connected to a religious, spiritual life, but also the pursuit of inner values as opposed to outer or material values, as well as having a meaningful life, and freedom from (worldly) cares.

En väheksy taloudellisten ja yhteiskunnallisten kysymysten merkitystä. Mutta niiden yläpuolella on asioita, jotka ovat vielä tärkeämpiä.[...] Ne ovat luovuttamattomia henkisiä arvoja, joita ilman elämä meillä ei ole elämisen arvoinen.

I do not belittle the importance of economic and societal questions. But above them there are things which are more important [...]. They are inalienable spiritual values, without which life for us is not worth living

Paasikivi, New Year's Speech 1951

Jo kauan on ollut puhetta siitä, että määrällisen kasvun rinnalle ja sitä korvaamaan pitäisi tulla ihmisten elämän laadullisen paranemisen.

There has already for a long time been talk about the need to have along side quantitative growth, and to replace it we need the bettering of the quality of life people have.

Koivisto, Parliament Opening Speech 1987

The speeches differ in the aspects of Spirituality values they emphasize. Prayer Day Declarations naturally underline more the aspects of interpreting life and its events in relation to God, both on a national and on an individual level. God's favor and blessing are talked about as fundamental for the nation, a concept which is also found in the New Year's Speeches in which the presidents evoke blessing and success over their hearers and the nation.

Olemme nyt silmällessämme kuljettua taivalta velvolliset nöyrästi tunnustamaan, ettemme me, jotka monesti olemme nähneet ympärillämme vain pimeyttä, tunteneet voimiemme pettävän ja olleet vaipumassa epätoivoon, olisi osanneet kulkea emmekä kenneet elämään ja toimi- maan, ellei koko kansamme olisi ohjannut usko Korkeimman johdatukseen ja ellei tuota johdatusta olisi ollut.

As we look at the path we have walked, we need to humbly confess that we, who many times have seen around us only darkness, felt our strength to fail, and have been sinking into despair, we would not have known how to walk, nor could we have lived and acted, had our entire nation not been guided by faith in the providence of the Most High, and if the providence had not been there.

Ryti, New Year's Speech 1941

A particularly Protestant emphasis can be seen in the position the Bible is given as a basis for national culture¹⁸³ and progress.

Kansamme henkisen ja aineellisen turvallisuuden luomisessa voimme tukeutua hengelliseen perintöömme ja kulttuurimme tasapainottaviin ja terveisiin puoliin. Kristillisen uskon pysyvät totuudet ovat niissä keskeisiä. Suomalainen kristillisuus on painottanut ikuisten totuuksien eheyttävää ja rakentavaa merkitystä. Se on ohjannut etsimään vastauksia elämän suuriin kysymyksiin Raamatun sanasta.

In the creation of the spiritual and material safety for our nation we can lean on our spiritual inheritance and on the balancing and healthy sides of our culture. The abiding truths of Christianity are central to them. Finnish Christianity has emphasized the healing and constructive significance of eternal truths. This has guided (people)¹⁸⁴ to look for answers in the word of the Bible.

¹⁸³ The foundation of Finnish literature is often stated to be the translation of the New Testament in 1548 made by the Protestant bishop Michael Agricola, a student of both Erasmus of Rotterdam and of Martin Luther. He was a prolific writer, producing also an ABC- book in 1543.

¹⁸⁴ Word added by the author

The political aspect of Spirituality is seen in how mentioning God/Providence is used to legitimate the position of the Czar and how the obligations of citizens are expressed in religious terms.

Men I ären ock af Honom, som upprätthåller alla samhällen, kallade till medborgare i en werldslig stat, hwars omwårdnad Försynen Oss ombetrott.

RPJ 1823

But you also are by Him, who sustains all societies, called to be citizens in a worldly State, the care of which Providence gave Us.

Alexander I, Prayer Day Declarations 1823

Spirituality values are also talked about as the basis for equality and freedom (but not in political sense), and as the basis for the creation of a sense of ‘us’ during the Grand Duchy period.

[...]der i Guds Helgedom är föreningspunkten emellan Honom, som osynlig är, och oss ändlige warelser; der förenas de, som Länder styra, med dem, som lyda, uti samma behof af Nåd och styrka, samma böner och tacksägelser; höge och låge, rike och fattige aro här inför Herran samlade till en gemensam njutning af Guds Rikes härliga gåfwor;

[...]there in God's Holiness is the point of juncture between Him, who is invisible, and us spiritual beings, there those who lead Nations unite with those who obey, out of same need of grace and strength, the same prayers and thnsgivings; the high and the low, the rich and the poor are here gathered before the Lord to enjoy together the wonderful gifts of God's Kingdom.

Alexander I, Prayer Day Declarations 1822

Spirituality values are not limited to concepts of trust and having faith in the religious sense, by which the object of trust or faith is God, but Spirituality values also include the more temporal sense, in which the object of faith and trust can be something immaterial, such as ‘nationhood’¹⁸⁵ or ‘the future’. These values were present mainly in New Year’s Speeches and in Parliament Opening Speeches.

Olkoot tämän työn tunnuksina – niin myötäkäymisen päivinä kuin koettelemusten vaikeina aikoina – uhrautuva isänmaan rakkaus, tinkimätön asiallisuus ja luja, horjumaton usko Suomen kansan vapaaseen, onnelliseen tulevaisuuteen.

Let the emblems of this work be – both in days of success as in the difficult times of trials – sacrificial love of the fatherland, uncompromizing objectivity and firm, unswerving belief in the free and happy future of the Finnish people.

Relander, Parliament Opening Speech 1931

¹⁸⁵ cf. Benedict Anderson’s imagined communities (Anderson, 1991).

Kovasti ponnistellen ja Kaitselmuksen avulla voitamme vaikeutemme ja turvaamme kansamme tulevaisuuden.

By working really hard and with the help of Providence we will overcome our difficulties and secure the future of our nation.

Paasikivi, New Year's Speech 1947

Vaikeuksista huolimatta on tärkeätä säilyttää usko tulevaisuuteen.

In spite of difficulties, it is important to maintain faith in the future.

Koivisto, New Year's Speech 1988

Spirituality values are also mentioned in connection to other values, such as Universalism, Benevolence, and Education.

Kestävää kehitystä ei synny vain taloudellisen globalisaation luomia epäkohtia korjaamalla. Kehitykseen tarvitaan myös kulttuurien ja uskontojen myönteinen, rakentava panos

Sustainable development will not be born only by rectifying the drawbacks created by economic globalization. Development also needs the positive, upbuilding contribution of cultures and religions.

Ahtisaari, New Year's Speech 2000

Olemme hiljan viettäneet suurta rauhan juhlaa. Ohjatkoon sen kaunis Julistus Jumalan kunniasta, rauhasta maassa ja ihmisten hyvästä tahdosta toimintaamme alkavana vuonna.

We have recently celebrated the great festivity of peace. May its beautiful proclamation of God's glory, of peace on earth, and of goodwill of men direct our endeavors in the coming year.

Svinhufvud, New Year's Speech 1936

7.1.3.3 Education values

Education values are understood to comprise not only the pursuit of education as such, but also the pursuit of culture in the sense of cultivation of the mind and the intellect, refinement of the person, and inner growth. Just as a “well-educated or a civilized person” in English can also mean a person who is also well-mannered, in addition to being knowledgeable, so the Finnish words “*sivistys*” covers both education and personal refinement, which are achieved through learning. This then leads to the favoring of the establishment of schools and other places of learning, as can be seen from the following examples.

Ne uudet raha-määräykset, joihin Minä näillä waltiopäiwillä pyydän teidän suostumaan, tarkoittawatkin ainoastaan uusia toimia yhteisen siwistysksen ja warallisuuden korottamiseksi.

The new financial orders that I ask you during this Diet to give your consent to, only mean to be new acts in order to raise the common education and

wealth.

Alexander II, Parliament Opening Speech 1863

Sen korkeamman siwistuksen perään, joka hyödyllisten tietojen oppimisella perustetaan, on yhä suurempi halu ja hartaus herännyt ja osoittanut itsensä yhä useampain sivistyslaitosten asettamisella.

There is a ever greater desire and yearning which has been awakened for the obtaining of that higher civilization (education), which is establish by the learning of useful knowledge. This has led to the estabslhing of increasing numer of educational institutions.

Alexander II, Prayer Day Declaration 1872

Education values are talked about on national level, as goals to pursue for the entire nation, rather than being the hobby of a small elite.

Sekä sisään- että ulospäin on työskentely rauhallista edistymistä warten

saanut häiritsemättä jatkua, siwistystä ja tietoja leweenee maakuntiin

As both inwardly and outward directed working towards peaceful progress has been allowed to conitnue unhindered, civilization and knsùledge will also spread to the provinces.

Alexander III, Prayer Day Declaration 1882

Korostettakoon lisäksi , että sivistyksellisen demokratian kannalta on yleisten koulutusmahdollisuuksien tasainen jakautuminen sinänsä tärkeä tavoite .

Alueelliset epäkohdat merkitsevät tässä nykyään jo enemmän kuin varallisuustaso . Eriarvoisuus koulutusmahdollisuuksissa aiheuttaa henkisten lahjojen tuhlausta . Kainuun köyhällä ihmisellä tulee todella olla samat mahdollisuudet lastensa kouluttamiseen kuin Helsingin herralla .

Let it be emphasized, in additon, that from the point of view of civilized democracy, the even spreding of general opportunities for education is even of itself an important goal. Regional drawbacks have even a greater impact nowadays than level of wealth. The poor person of Kainuu must have the same opportunities to educate her or his children than the mister from Helsinki.

Kekkonen, New Year's Speech 1965

In regard to other values, Education values are linked to e.g. Spirituality, and Universalism, fostering a sense of national pride.

Kansamme uskonnollinen elämä on saanut ravintonsa Raamatusta. Mutta Pyhä Kirja on laskenut perustan myös kirjakielellemme ja kansalliselle kirjallisuudellemme. Se on ratkaisevalla tavalla edistänyt henkistä viljelyä yleensä.

Our nations religious life has been nurtured by the Bible. But the Holy Book has also laid the foundation for our written language and our national

literature. It has vitally enhanced intellectual growth in general.

Ryti, Prayer Day Declaration 1942/1

Voimme olla ylpeitä koulutustasostamme. On silti varottava, ettei ylpeys käy lankeemuksen edellä. Opetus- ja yliopistolaitoksemme kehittäminen on jatkuva haaste.

We can be proud of our level of education. Still, we have to be careful lest pride goes before the fall. It is a continuous challenge to continue to develop our teaching and university institutions.

Ahtisaari, Parliament Opening Speech 1999

A component of education, learning of new skills, connects Education values conceptually to Openness-to-change values. Education is seen as a force of change and is at times evoked also as an answer to economic crisis, and as a part of the project of making Finland a knowledge society.¹⁸⁶

Valtiovallan ei tarvitse matkaan saattaa mitään yhteiskunnallista rakennemuutosta, se on menossa joka tapauksessa. Sitä aiheuttavat niin ulkoiset kuin sisäisetkin muutospaineet. Sisäisiä ovat kohoava koulutustaso, kasvava informaatiovirta.

The Government doesn't have to generate nay strutral changes of the society, it will happen any way. It is caused by both inner and outer pressure for change. Inner pressures towards change consist of growing level of education, in the growing flow of information.

Koivisto, Parliament Opening Speech 1991

Taloudellisesti vaikeinakin aikoina meidän pitää myös muistaa, että rakennamme tulevaisuutta kansalaisten koulutustason ja osaamisen varaan. Koulutukseen ja tutkimukseen on yhteiskuntamme resursseja uhrattava suhdanteista riippumatta.

Even during economically trying times we need to remember that we are building the future on the basis of the level of education of the citizens, and on their know-how. We have to spend the resources of our society on research and education, regardless of the economical situation.

Koivisto, Parliament Opening Speech 1992

Maastamme tulee tehdä tietoyhteiskunta, missä ihmisten osaaminen, yritteliäisyys ja korkea koulutustaso ovat keskeisiä tuotannon tekijöitä. *Our nation needs to be made into a knwoledge society, in which the know-how of the people, enterprise and high level of education are central components of produce.*

Ahtisaari, Parliament Opening Speech 1995

¹⁸⁶ cf. Ahokas & Kaivo-oja, 2004

In conclusion it can be said that the ways in which these values were spoken about are more complex and varied than what could be reduced to fit a single hypothesis. In order to really see which values are talked about together, it is necessary to integrate statistical results to the qualitative ones, which are taken up in the following section.

7.2 GENERAL STATISTICAL RESULTS

This section presents the quantitative results starting with descriptive statistics. There will first be tables with general statistical results, followed by values preferences (i.e. ranking order), and lastly a section on the SVT and Non-SVT values.

The following table presents the general descriptive statistic information of the values across all speeches.

Table 15. *Descriptive statistics: Percentage of frequency of mention across all speeches 1809-2000.*

Value	N	M	SD
PO	355	8.2	9.0
AC	355	3.9	4.6
HE	355	0.4	1.8
ST	355	1.8	3.4
SD	355	4.8	6.2
UN	355	10.6	8.2
BE	355	14.9	9.1
CO	355	12.3	6.8
TR	355	4.9	4.8
SE	355	9.7	7.1
WO	355	8.4	7.3
SP	355	14.7	15.6
ED	355	5.2	5.6

Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST= Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

The value with the highest amount of variance is Spirituality, followed by Power and Benevolence values. As can be seen, Universalism, Benevolence, Conformity and Spirituality values together cover more than 50% of all the values mentioned.

The following table shows value occurrences in speeches per speech type. The highest occurrences for each speech type have been highlighted.

Table 16. Occurrence of values per speech type in percentage.

Speech type	PDD	NYS	POS	Other	All
N	173	66	104	12	355
PO	59.9	100	85.6	75	73
AC	34.1	90.9	83.7	66.7	60.3
HE	11.6	7.6	10.6	0	10.1
ST	18.5	56.1	51	16.7	34.9
SD	44.5	87.9	69.2	58.3	60.3
UN	93.6	100	87.5	91.7	93
BE	94.8	100	94.2	91.7	95.5
CO	100	98.5	91.4	100	97.2
TR	93.1	78.8	49	41.7	75.8
SE	85.6	97	91.4	100	89.9
WO	65.9	97	91.4	58.3	78.9
SP	100	40.9	28.9	25	65.6
ED	71.7	84.9	74	33.3	73.5

Note 1: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST = Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

Note 2: PDD = Prayer Day Declarations, NYS = New Year's Speech, POS = Parliament Opening Speeches, Other = Declarations and public speeches not classified into the previous three categories

Values present in almost all 355 speeches are Conformity, Benevolence, Universalism, and Security. Of the Non-SVT values, Work-related values are present in four-fifths of all the speeches. In the other end of frequencies, Hedonism is present only in about ten percent of the speeches, the lowest score of all. The second rarest is Stimulation, occurring in one-third of the speeches. These findings are quite in line with the hypothesis, in which I assumed that due to the SVT basic assumptions (Schwartz, 1992) they would be present throughout. The presence of the Non-SVT values also follows the presented hypothesis.

As can be expected, in all Prayer Day Declarations (PDD, N = 173) Spirituality values are present. Also occurring in all is Conformity. The other most favored ones are in order of frequency Benevolence, Universalism, Tradition, and Security.

In New Year's Speeches (NYS, N = 66) the following occur in all speeches: Universalism, Benevolence and Power. Conformity, Security, and Work-related values are present in all but one (Conformity) or two (Security and Work-related) speeches.

In Parliament Opening Speeches (POS, N = 104), Benevolence, Conformity, Security, and Work-related values are present in most speeches, but there is no single value category that would be present in all. For the category of “Other Speeches”, Conformity and Security are present in every speech, and Universalism and Benevolence are present in all but one.

The following table (17) shows how the relative importance for each value has fluctuated. The highest score for each value is highlighted. As can be seen, Benevolence and Conformity values form a fairly stable top two. Albeit Spirituality values scored very high initially, their position dropped and Power and Universalism values rose to pre-eminence. Achievement, Hedonism and Stimulation values have always been ranked very low. Tradition values remain in the mid-low range for the whole period. Security values rise in importance during the 20th century.

Table 17. Ranking order of values per decade

	1809	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1917	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
	-19	-29	-39	-49	-59	-69	-79	-89	-99	-11	-19	-29	-39	-49	-59	-69	-79	-89	-
PO	9	9	10	9	7	7	6	10	10	6	8	7	2	5	6	1	1	6	7
AC	11	10	9	10	11	10	9	9	8	10	6	10	10	10	10	9	10	9	11
HE	12	12	12	12	10	12	9	12	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13
ST	13	12	13	13	13	13	13	13	12	11	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
SD	8	11	10	11	12	11	12	11	9	8	2	9	10	8	9	10	8	11	6
UN	4	4	4	5	4	6	4	8	5	4	5	4	7	6	4	5	2	1	1
BE	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	3	2	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	6	3	2
TR	5	6	5	8	5	8	7	4	11	9	11	8	8	9	11	10	11	10	10
CO	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	4	2	1	7	1	4	3	5	5
SE	6	8	8	6	8	4	5	6	4	3	1	5	5	3	5	8	4	2	3
WO	7	7	6	7	9	5	11	5	7	7	7	6	6	1	7	3	5	4	4
SP	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	9	1	3	4	3	6	9	7	8
ED	10	5	7	4	6	9	8	7	5	12	10	11	9	11	8	7	7	8	9

Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST = Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

7.2.1 SVT VALUES VS. NON-SVT VALUES

Table 18. *Percentual ratio of Schwartz Value Theory (SVT) value dimensions and Non-SVT values across all speeches.*

Dimensions	Self-Enhancement	Self - Transcendence	Conservation	Openness to Change	All Schwartz values	Non-SVT values
Value types	PO, AC	UN, BE	CO,TR,SE	HE, ST, SD		WO, SP, ED
Average percentage	12.1	25.6	27	7	71.7	28.3

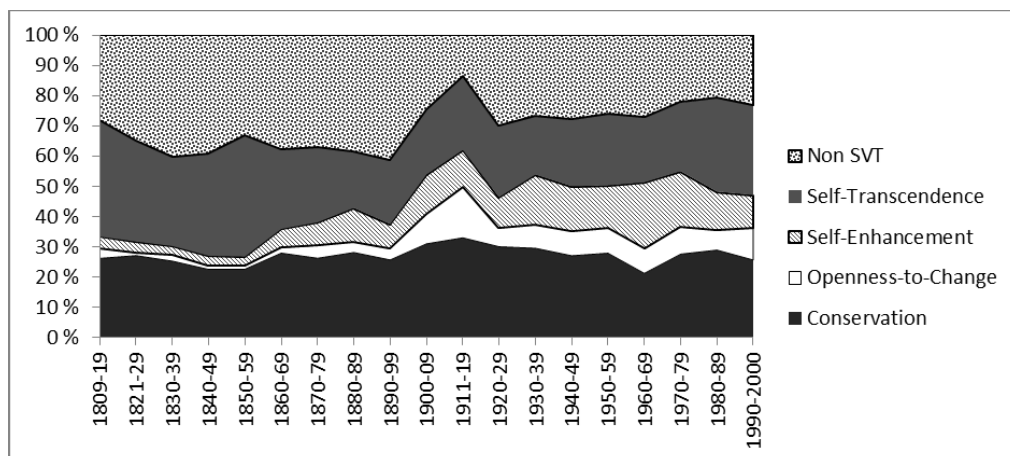
Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST= Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

As can be seen, a little less than three quarters of the endorsed values can be categorized as SVT values and a little over one-fourth as Non-SVT Finnish values. When looked at from the point of SVT value dimensions, Self-Enhancement values (Power and Achievement) amount to little over twelve percent, whereas Self-Transcendence Values (Universalism and Benevolence) cover doubly so much of all the values. Conservation (Conformity, Tradition and Security) values cover nearly one-third of all, and Openness-to-Change values (Hedonism, Stimulation and Self-Direction) under ten percent. The Non-SVT values (Spirituality, Work-related values, and Education) cover nearly one-third of the values mentioned¹⁸⁷, which indicates that they are needed to gain a comprehensive picture of the values in this data.

The following figure shows the fluctuation over time of these dimensions in proportion to one another. The format of the figure (percentile area rather than e.g. columns) was chosen for the sake of clarity to better illustrate the continuous aspect of the fluctuations of the dimensions in relation to one another.

¹⁸⁷ Helkama & Seppälä (2006) report of similar findings of values in media interviews, but they found a larger percentage (ca. 40%) of values not fitting to the SVT definition of values.

Figure 3 Fluctuation of SVT value dimensions and Non SVT values across all speeches 1809-2000 per decade



The figure above shows how the value dimensions have fluctuated in proportion to each other during time.

The Conservation values on a whole have remained quite stable, accounting for 22-33% of the values throughout the period. The proportion of Openness-to-Change values, albeit steadily increasing, remains at ca. 10% at the end of the period. They also show the greatest fluctuation from 1% to 16%.

Self-Transcendence values decrease from ca. 40% in the 1850s till the ca. 19% in the 1880s, but remain fairly the same after that, except for the last decades in the time period under, when they again are increasing, covering a nearly third of all endorsed values.

Self-Enhancement values also show a lot of fluctuation, from ca. 3% to ca. 22% in the 1960s after which there is a steady decrease till the ca. 11% of the 1990s.

The proportion of Non-SVT values is at its lowest in the first decade of the 20th century, but stays after it at about 22%. The changes in singular values will be looked at in greater detail in junction to time in the section 7.3.

7.3 TIME AS THE STARTING POINT

One of the questions this study seeks to answer is how time and the values that are mentioned relate to each other.¹⁸⁸ The results are presented divided into the two periods marking the biggest political change: Grand Duchy (1809 -1911)¹⁸⁹ and Independence (1917-2000). First there will be the

¹⁸⁸ Time perspective in relation to the different speech types will be discussed in section 7.4

¹⁸⁹ As noted in chapter 4 on Materials, there is no data available from 1911-1916.

overall comparison in relation to time and period, followed by a more detailed look at the changes per decades, and lastly the pivotal points of Finnish history will be discussed.

The first table shows the results of the ranking of values divided by time in comparison to the pancultural baseline (see Schwartz & Bardi, 2001).

Table 19. Comparing pancultural ranking order of values to the ranking order of values during Grand Duchy and Independence

Ranking	Pan-cultural	Grand Duchy	Independence
1	Benevolence	<i>Spirituality</i>	Benevolence
2	Self-direction/Universalism	Benevolence	Universalism
3		Conformity	Security
4	Security	Universalism	Conformity
5	Conformity	Security	Power
6	Achievement	Tradition	<i>Work-related values</i>
7	Hedonism	<i>Work-related values</i>	<i>Spirituality</i>
8	Stimulation	<i>Education</i>	Self-Direction
9	Tradition	Power	<i>Education</i>
10	Power	Achievement	Tradition
11	-	Self-Direction	Achievement
12	-	Hedonism	Stimulation
13	-	Stimulation	Hedonism

Note: Non-SVT values in italics

7.3.1 FROM GRAND DUCHY TO INDEPENDENCE

The following figure presents the big picture of value changes through showing the calculated mean percentages of all speeches per each period.

The differences in the two periods show statistically significant variance for all but Hedonism, $F(1, 353) = 2.46$, $p = .118$; Tradition, $F(1, 353) = .67$, $p = .436$; and Education $F(1, 353) = .49$, $p = .487$.

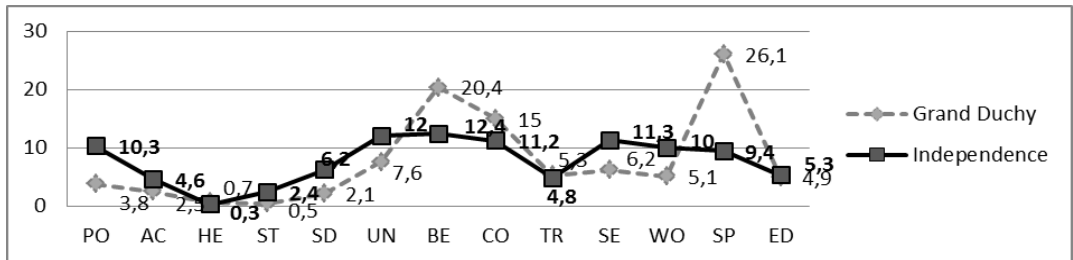


Figure 4 Mean of frequency of mention for all values across all speeches during Grand Duchy (1809-1911) and Independence (1917-2000)

There are two major trends that have taken place. One is the evening out of the differences in the percentages of endorsed values during Independence in contrast to the Grand Duchy period in which two values, Benevolence and Spirituality clearly dominate the picture covering nearly half of all endorsed values. Even though these two values are still fairly important during Independence, together they only cover less than 22% of all values, i.e. less than a half than in the previous period.

Secondly, the fluctuations which can be seen in other core values (such as Benevolence, Universalism, Security or Work-related values) do not affect Conformity as much: it remains fairly constant throughout the period under observation. Spirituality values show the greatest change, dropping drastically during Independence. Power values are decisively higher during the latter period.

Discussion:

It is also no be noted that even though the rulers during Grand Duchy actually wielded sovereign power, yet the Power values were emphasized much more by the democratically elected Presidents.

The differences in the two time periods can also be attributed to the different perception of the make of the society. In the 19th century the society was viewed as a network of relationships in which people had to be properly related to the “system” and its parts, the main component of which was religion, to which both the rulers and the ruled were bound:

With OUR¹⁹⁰ daily renewed care for Your welfare, beloved Subjects, is in US even renewed the desire that Religion’s valuable truths would always be present in Your thoughts guiding Your actions, and that it would in You

¹⁹⁰ When the Czars use the majestic plural, it is denoted in the translation of excerpts (as in the original) by the pronoun written in capital letters.

produce those virtues which are the foundation for the existence and continuity of each Society, and for every man's individual bliss. [...] Religion alone creates the heart anew, sanctifies the will and ennobles inclinations. She gives birth to all individual and societal virtues. She strengthens the cords between the Ruler and the Subjects, between them reciprocally, and unifies all together to a common effort for the benefit of all. ¹⁹¹

Alexander I, Prayer Day Declaration, 1812

This as a comment is all the more interesting since the Finns to whom this declaration was directed and the Czar were of different, albeit Christian, persuasion.

To continue on a more general level, next table shows the correlation between years and values. As can be seen, most values correlate with time; Hedonism, and Education being the exception. Power, Achievement, Stimulation, Self-Direction, Universalism, Security, and Work-related values correlate positively, i.e. their frequency increases with time, whereas Benevolence, Conformity, and Spirituality correlate negatively with time, decreasing in frequency, but not vanishing entirely.

Table 20. *Correlation of years and values*

Values	Pearson Correlation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Power	.33**	.000
Achievement	.22**	.000
Hedonism	-.09	.077
Stimulation	.30**	.000
Self-Direction	.27**	.000
Universalism	.32**	.000
Benevolence	-.46**	.000
Conformity	-.26**	.000
Tradition	-.10	.052
Security	.35**	.000
Work-related values	.31**	.000
Spirituality	-.49**	.000
Education	.08	.161

** . Correlation is significant at the .001 level (2-tailed),

* . Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

7.3.2 VALUES PER DECADE

Naturally the division of history into decades is merely a human convention, and political life or social change does not happen according to decades, but in order to have a clearer view of what has happened, the data was divided into decades. There were two main questions that fuelled this viewpoint. First, the timing of value fluctuations and secondly, what was conveyed

¹⁹¹ Translated by the author

through the speeches to be truly important, i.e. how the value preferences have changed. The next sections deal with each one of these questions.

Mean percentage of value mentions per decade

The following table shows the mean percentage of value mentions per decade. The purpose of this table is to track the changes and fluctuations that have taken place from one decade to another. For each decade the highest value has been highlighted.

1809-1819, the first decade of Grand Duchy, seems to set the pattern for the first five decades of the 19th century. Benevolence, Spirituality and Conformity occupy the primary posts, and other values show rather small variation of frequency. In fact, Benevolence values' highest points occur during the first five decades.

Conformity values reach their all-time high in the 1820s, and Tradition values peak in the 1830s. Power values are at their lowest in the 1830s. In 1840s Education values reach their highest peak. In 1850s Universalism values are higher than any other decade in the 19th century. Self-Direction reaches its lowest point in this decade, as do Achievement and Security.

In 1860s Security and Work-related values rise, and also Conformity and Spirituality values are high. Universalism values are at their all-time low, and remain quite low for the last four decades of the 19th century. In the 1870s and 1890s Spirituality values are at their highest point, whereas Work-related values are at their lowest in 1870s.

In 1880s Achievement are at their highest in the 19th century, whereas in that decade Benevolence values are at the lowest point in the 19th century. Work-related values are also quite high, and so are Education values. In the 1890s Security values are quite high and so are Education values.

In the first decade of the 20th century Universalism values are at their highest point in a century (although not at their all-time highest, which occurs later). Conformity, Security, and Work-related values are also high, but Spirituality drops quite a lot from the previous decade. Power values rise considerably from the previous decade. The following decade, 1910s, include the highest peaks for Achievement, Self-direction and Security. Spirituality and Tradition are at their lowest. Benevolence values are at their highest in the 20th century in this decade.

In the 1920s there is a significant drop in Self-direction, Achievement, and Security values. Work-related values rise, as do Tradition and Spirituality (reaching its highest point in the 20th century). In the 1930s (as well as in the previous decade) Conformity values are at their highest in the 20th century. Work-related values continue to rise, as do Power values, whereas Spirituality drops to then stay almost at the same level for another two decades. Stimulation values are quite high as well.

Table 21. *Mean percentage of values per decade across all speech types*

Decade	Power	Achievement	Hedonism	Stimulation	Self-Direction	Universalism	Benevolence	Conformity	Tradition	Security	Work	Spirituality	Education
1809-19	2.8	1.1	0.2	0	3.1	8.1	30.5	12.4	7	6.8	3.7	22.2	2.2
1821-29	2.5	1.2	0	0	1	7.7	25.6	16.9	5.7	4.5	5.5	23.7	5.8
1830-39	1.2	1.6	0.7	0.3	1.2	8.7	21	13.9	7.9	3.5	6.6	27.2	6.4
1840-49	2.2	1	0.3	0.1	0.9	7.7	25.9	12.9	4.4	5.2	4.8	26.3	8.2
1850-59	2.5	0.5	0.8	0	0.4	10.5	29.6	14.2	6	2.4	2.2	27.7	3.3
1860-69	4.1	2	0.6	0	1.3	4.6	21.6	16.3	3.8	7.8	6.9	28.7	2.3
1870-79	5.3	2.3	2.3	0.6	1.4	6.6	18.3	15.1	4.8	6.3	2.1	30.6	4.3
1880-89	5.4	5.6	1	0.8	2	6.1	12.4	15.4	6.9	5.8	6.7	25.4	6.5
1890-99	3.5	4.3	0	0.4	3.7	6.5	14.6	14.6	3.4	7.7	4.4	30.6	6.5
1900-09	9.5	3.5	0.6	2.8	6.6	11.7	9.7	15.1	4.6	11.3	8	14.2	2.5
1911-19	5.4	6.8	1	1.1	14.8	9	15.5	12.6	2	18.4	6.5	4	3
1920-29	6.7	3.5	0	1.2	5	10.2	13.3	14.6	5.8	9.6	8.2	18.7	3.1
1930-39	12	4.4	0.7	2.9	4.4	7.6	11.9	13.4	6.2	9.9	9.4	11.9	5.3
1940-49	10.3	4.3	0.7	0.8	6.9	10	12	8.9	6.2	11.9	12.5	11.4	4
1950-59	9.1	4.9	0.6	2.6	5.3	11.2	12.5	13.2	4.8	9.9	8.1	12	5.9
1960-69	16	5.9	0.1	3.3	4.8	9.6	11.9	10.3	4.8	6.1	10.8	8.7	7.6
1970-79	13.6	4.9	0	3	6	13.2	9.5	12.5	3.6	11.5	11	5.1	6.2
1980-89	8.1	4.6	0	2.8	3.9	17.4	13.7	9.1	4.2	15.6	9.5	6.1	5
1990-2000	7.6	3	0.3	2.4	8.2	16	13.8	9.1	4.3	12.2	11	6.8	5.2

In the 1940s Self-direction rises somewhat, as do Universalism, and Security. Work-related values reach their all-time high. There is a slight drop in Education values, and a more marked one in Stimulation values. Conformity values reach their lowest point.

In the 1950s Conformity values rise, whereas most other values remain similar to the 1940s, with the exception of Stimulation, which rises a little. Tradition values drop slightly as do Self-direction values.

In 1960s Power values reach their all-time high, as does Stimulation. Also Education values reach their 20th century highest point. Security and Spirituality values decrease. In the 1970s Spirituality values continue to decrease, reaching their second lowest point, and Benevolence reaches its all-time low. Security values increase quite a lot from the previous decade, and, to a smaller degree, so does Universalism. Power and Work-related values stay fairly high.

In 1980s Universalism values reach their all-time high. Security values are at their second highest point. Benevolence values increase. Power values decrease clearly, as do Conformity values. There is also a smaller decrease in Self-direction values, Work-related values and Education values.

In the last decade of the 20th century Self-direction values increase reaching their second highest point. Work-related values and Spirituality values also increase slightly. Universalism values decrease slightly from the previous decade, but are still at their second highest point. Security values drop as well.

Value hierarchies per decade: the top ten

The following table presents the rank order of values across speeches for each decade. The rank order was calculated based on the mean percentage of the value across the speeches per decade. The Non-SVT Finnish values have been highlighted to make clearer their position in the ranking order.

The ranking order of values shows great stability during the period of the Grand Duchy, i.e. the period of the Czars as rulers (1809-1911). Benevolence, Conformity and Spirituality are the most endorsed values, forming a fairly stable threesome. Under the Grand Duchy period, greater variation is seen in the ranking order of the values from the 4th till the 10th place. Universalism is the fourth most endorsed value during six decades, in 1809-1839, 1850s, 1870s, and the first decade of 1900s (the last one a shared position with Benevolence).

The first decade of 1900s shows a different pattern from the previous decades in that Security occupies the 3rd place. During this decade Universalism values are equal to Benevolence values. Security values become more important also 1860s and in 1890s, occupying the 4th place, and in 1870s the 5th.

Table 22. *Rank order per decade*

Grand Duchy ranking order	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1809-19	Benevolence	Spirituality	Conformity	Universalism	Tradition	Security	Work-related	Self-Direction	Power	Education
1820-29	Benevolence	Spirituality	Conformity	Universalism	Education	Tradition	Work-related	Security	Power	Self-Direction
1839-39	Spirituality	Benevolence	Conformity	Universalism	Tradition	Work-related	Education	Security	Achievement	Self-Direction
1840-49	Spirituality	Benevolence	Conformity	Education	Universalism	Security	Work-related	Tradition	Power	Achievement
1850-59	Benevolence	Spirituality	Conformity	Universalism	Tradition	Education	Power	Security	Work-related	Hedonism
1860-69	Spirituality	Benevolence	Conformity	Security	Work-related	Universalism	Power	Tradition	Education	Achievement
1870-79	Spirituality	Benevolence	Conformity	Universalism	Security	Power	Tradition	Education	AC /HE	Power
1880-89	Spirituality	Conformity	Benevolence	Work-related	Tradition	Education	Universalism	Security	Achievement	Power
1890-99	Spirituality	Conformity	Benevolence	Security	Universalism	Education	Work-related	Achievement	Self-Direction	Power
1900-11	Conformity	Spirituality	Security	UN/BE	Power	Power	Work-related	Self-Direction	Tradition	Achievement
Independence ranking order	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1917- 19	Security	Self-Direction	Benevolence	Conformity	Universalism	Achievement	Work-related	Power	Spirituality	Education
1920-29	Spirituality	Conformity	Benevolence	Universalism	Security	Work-related	Power	Tradition	Self-Direction	Achievement
1930-39	Conformity	Power	BE/SP	Universalism	Security	Work-related	Universalism	Tradition	Education	Self-Direction
1940-49	Work-related	Benevolence	Security	Spirituality	Power	Universalism	Conformity	Self-Direction	Tradition	Achievement
1950-59	Conformity	Benevolence	Spirituality	Universalism	Security	Power	Work-related	Education	Self-Direction	Achievement
1960-69	Power	Benevolence	Work-related	Conformity	Universalism	Education	Spirituality	Security	Achievement	Self-Direction
1970-79	Power	Universalism	Conformity	Security	Work-related	Benevolence	Education	Self-Direction	Spirituality	Achievement
1980-89	Universalism	Security	Benevolence	Work-related	Conformity	Power	Spirituality	Education	Achievement	Tradition
1990-2000	Universalism	Benevolence	Security	Work-related	Conformity	Self-Direction	Power	Spirituality	Education	Tradition

Education values rise in importance in the 1840s (being in the 4th place), as do Security values in 1860s and in 1890s. Work-related values are mainly the 7th most cited ones (in 1810s, 1820s, 1840s, 1890s, and the first decade of 1900), except for in 1830s when they are 6th, and in 1860s and 1880s when they occupy the 4th place.

The least favored values are Achievement and Hedonism, together with Self-Direction. The least favored is Stimulation, which never reaches the top ten lists.

In the period of Independence (1917-2000) the ranking order shows much greater variation than during the Grand Duchy period. Benevolence is still among the top three, although it no longer is the highest ranking in any of the decades. Conformity is the highest in 1930s and again in 1950s, and it is the 2nd in 1920s, and 3rd in 1970s. Spirituality is the highest in 1920s, but altogether Spirituality values are markedly less endorsed, being 3rd 1950s, 4th in 1940s and at a shared 3rd place with Benevolence values in 1930s.

Power and Universalism occupy the highest place for two decades each at the end of the 20th century. Work-related values are the highest in the 1940s. In 1960s they are the 3rd most important values, and in 1980s and 1990s the 4th. Security values are also generally higher than in the previous period, being the most important in first period (1917-19) and 2nd in 1980s and 3rd in importance in 1940s and 1990s.

7.3.3 WHAT HAPPENS TO VALUES DURING NATIONAL CRISES?

Based on Finnish history and its pivotal points¹⁹² five events were chosen to represent national crises¹⁹³: the last West-European peace time famine in 1866-1868, War of Independence and the formation of the Republic in 1917-19, the Finnish front of World War II (Winter War, the Continuation War and the Lapland War considered as one event) 1939-45¹⁹⁴, energy crisis 1973-75, and the severe economic recession in 1990-93.

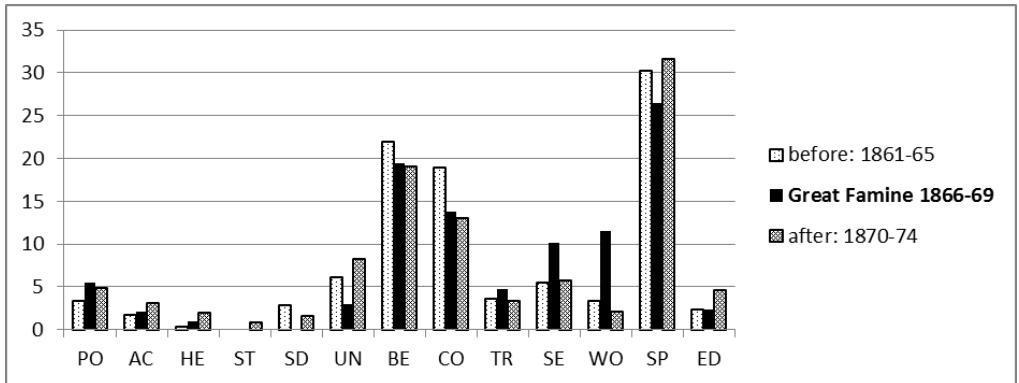
The results for crises times are presented in the following figures. The mean value percentages of each of the crises are compared the average percentages of previous and successive five years of its occurrence, e.g. the Great Famine (1866-68) is compared to the average of 1861-65, and 1870-74. The War of Independence is the exception: as there is no data available for the five years preceding it, it is only compared to the average of the five years following the war. The war times are also compared to one another.

¹⁹² see chapter 3 on context for an in-depth depiction of the historical and political context.

¹⁹³ Value changes during times of national crisis have also been studied in the Finnish context by Verkasalo, Goodwin and Bezmenova (2006) in relation to the terrorist attacks of 2001. Their respondents were youth in Finland. Their findings indicate a rise in Security values immediately following the attack, with simultaneous decrease in Stimulation values, and a U-shaped decline and rise in Benevolence values.

¹⁹⁴ The wars occur in the context of World War I and World War II, representing their Finnish fronts, but to a large extent these wars were separate from the global wars, as the first Finnish war was mainly a civil war, and the second set of wars were fought with the Soviet Union as the main front, rather than against all the Allied forces.

Figure 5 Values during Crises: the mean percentage of frequency of mention of values during the **Great Famine years of 1866-68** compared to the average percentage of five preceding years and five successive years after the war across all speeches



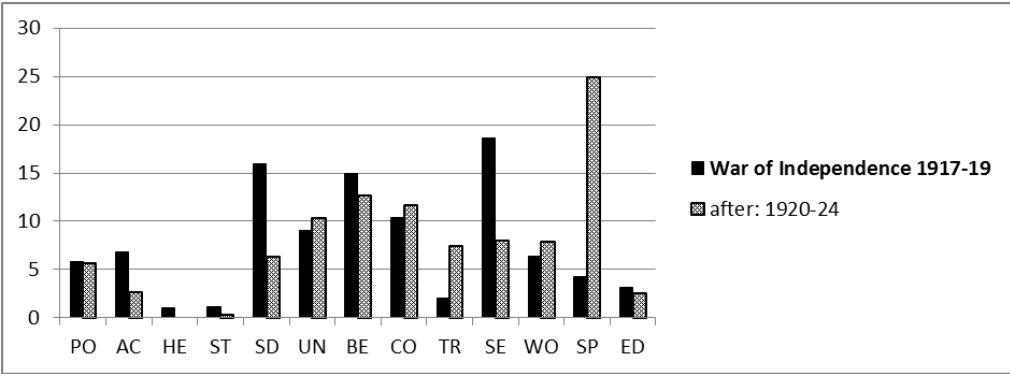
Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST= Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

During the Great Famine the most marked difference in comparison to the value averages of the Grand Duchy period is the increase in Security values and in Work-related values. Power and Tradition values also increase, but only slightly. The other trend is the decrease of Universalism and Spirituality values in comparison to the time before and after the famine. Benevolence and Conformity values decrease and stay low also afterwards. Education values increase in the years following the famine.

The following two figures present the results for times of war. The wars present a different kind of threat to the nation than the famine, in that the entire nation comes under threat, whereas during the famine everybody was not suffering from hunger, albeit all were affected by it.

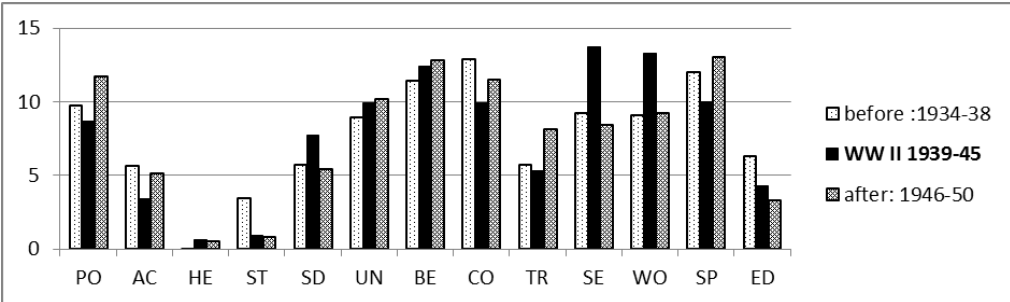
The first presents the War of Independence and its aftermath. The values during the war (which was also a civil war), show a sharp emphasis on Achievement, Self-Direction and Security values and a less marked one for Benevolence. After the war Spirituality values jump up, and there is also a sharp rise in Tradition values, together with a smaller one for Work-related values.

Figure 6 Values during Crises: the mean percentage of frequency of mention of values during **War of Independence (1917-19)**, compared to the average percentage of five preceding years and five successive years after the war across all speeches



Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST= Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

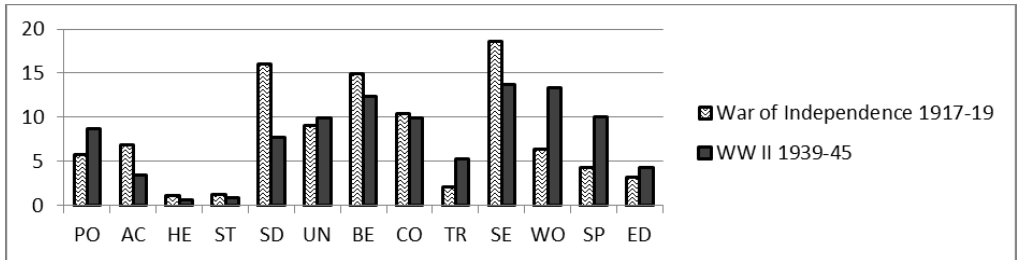
Figure 7 Values during Crises: the mean percentage of frequency of mention of values during **WW II (1939-45)**, compared to the average percentage of five preceding years and five successive years after the war across all speeches



Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST= Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

The WW II shows a drop in both Self-Enhancement values in comparison to the years both before and after. Self-Transcendence values rise higher than in the years preceding the war, but are lower during the war than after the war. Conservation values do not behave in a uniform way: Conformity and Tradition values are lower during the war, whereas Security values rise sharply. Self-Direction and Work-related values show a sharp rise as well. Spirituality values go down, but rise again in the years following the war, whereas Education values fall, but do not rise immediately after the war. The following table shows the differences and similarities between the two wars.

Figure 8 Values during Crises: the mean percentage of frequency of mention of values during **War of Independence (1917-19)** and **WW II (1939-45)** across all speeches.

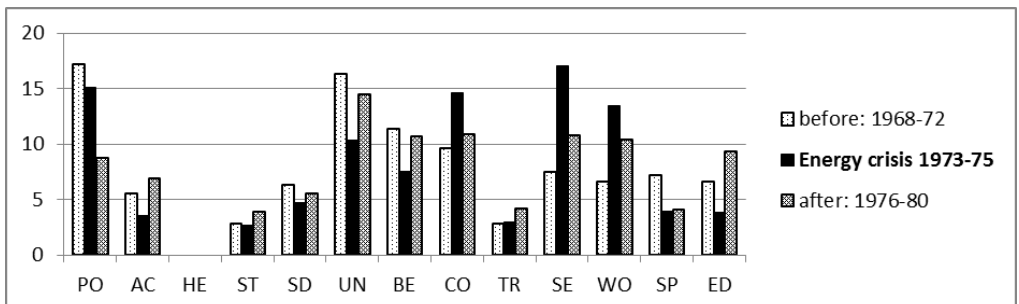


Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST= Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

Power values are higher for WW II, and Achievement values are lower. Benevolence values are higher during the War of Independence. Self-Direction values increase more during the first war than during the second. During both wars Security values are quite high, but more so during the War of Independence. The wars differ from one another in that during the WW II Work-related values, Spirituality, and Education values are much higher than during the War of Independence. The difference in Conformity values is minor, but Tradition values are higher during the WW II.

The next two crises are different again. The scope of both was mainly the economy of the nation, both triggered by factors external to Finland's borders and control. Both crises led to a substantial restructuring of many sectors of the society (see chapter on context for a more in depth discussion on them).

Figure 9 Values during Crises: the mean percentage of frequency of mention of values during **the Energy crisis (1973-75)**, compared to the average percentage of five preceding years and five successive years after the Energy crisis across all speeches

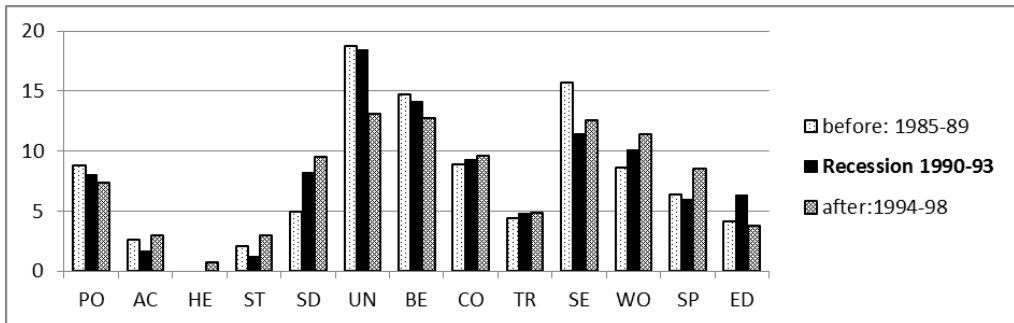


Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST= Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

During the energy crisis there was an increase in Conformity, Security and Work-related values. Power values were also higher than after the crisis. Both

Universalism and Benevolence values were lower than either before or after, as were Achievement, Self-Direction and Education values as well. Spirituality values decreased, and remained low after the crisis.

Figure 10 Values during Crises: the mean percentage of frequency of mention of values during **Recession (1990-93)** compared to the average percentage of five preceding years and five successive years after the Energy crisis across all speeches



Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST= Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

During the Recession of 1990-93, Self-Direction values increase, as do conformity values (but only slightly), and Work-related values and Education values. Security values are actually lower than either before or after, as are Stimulation values. Self-Direction, Conformity, Tradition, Security, Work-related, and Spirituality values are higher after the crisis than before it.

Discussion:

Each crisis naturally forms a threat to some aspect of the society, and the rulers/leaders will naturally address this. Therefore as was to be expected, Security values go up during all crises, with the exception of the Recession in 1990-93, where the Security values rise more after it. Also Work-related values increase during crises (or immediately after, as for the period of the War of Independence).

In light of the varying nature of the crises, the results can also be better understood when the context is taken into account. For instance, the Great Famine 1866-68 occurred at a time when there were great political renewals going on, the Diet had been convened again after more than 50 years interval, and the Senate was actively involved in the affairs of the Grand Duchy under Alexander II. The famine was provoked partially by uncontrollable events (poor weather and too short a summer causing most of the crops to be lost to frost), partly by poor political decisions in terms of timing of the relief. The famine was viewed as an act of God, and therefore the Czar includes in his response also an additional day of prayer and repentance to be held in December 1867. This also helps to explain why the Self-direction values do not rise: the response was not more autonomy, but

more dependence on God and more helping of fellow humans. The only shift in focus from external to internal is in evoking Work-related values: work can provide a way through. It is to be noted that Universalism is lower than before or after the period, underlining the fact that the focus on who is to be helped is depicted as those who are part of the 'us' (for a discussion on inclusiveness, see Schwartz (2007)). The following excerpt illustrates these points.

Se maan waiwa jolla Jumala wiisaudessansa on nähnyt hyväksi etsiä Suomen kansaa on siis voimallinen herätyshuutona katumukseen ja parannukseen. [...]Hän woi siunata wähäisetki waramme, jos waan jokainen hurskaalla huolenpidolla ja rehellisellä työnteolla tekee mitä woipi. Mutta tässä pitää kaikkien maan asukasten panna wiimeisetki woimansa liikkeelle, kukin osaltansa hankkiakseen keinoja ja neuvoja hädän poistamiseksi tai helpottamiseksi: tarwitsewaisten itsensä ei pidä heittäytyä toiwottomaan epäilykseen ja sillä muotoa olla niitä wähäisiä waroja hyväksensä käyttämättä, joita ahkeran työnteon kautta wielä woi ilmaantua heille; ja parempi-onnisten pitää itsensä kieltävässä weljellisessä rakkaudessa ojentaa enimmin hädän-alaisille maanmiehillensä auttawan käden.

The trouble in the land with which God has seen fit to seek the people of Finland is therefore a powerful awakening call unto repentance and contrition[...] He can bless our puny resources, if only each one of us with pious care and honest work does what one can. But in doing so all the inhabitants of the land must muster their last strength, and each one must seek to obtain the means and counsel with which to remove and alleviate misery: those who are in need themselves do not need to sink into hopeless doubt, and therefore not use their meagre means which yet might come their way through diligent work; and those who are luckier must in self-denial extend a helping hand in brotherly love towards those of their fellow countrymen who are suffering the worst.

Alexander II, Prayer Day Declaration 1867

In the 20th century the wars, albeit separated from one another by 20 years, have in common the increase of Self-Direction values. In contrast to the Great Famine, the wars were not seen as "an act of God", or as something the nation is helpless to react to. In both periods of war the aspect of national freedom and national independence was portrayed to be at stake. Security values are also therefore at the forefront. Surprisingly Power values are not being endorsed more than the average of the period, probably also because the objective in all these wars was not the subjugation of other nations or dominance of resources, but the gaining or maintenance of freedom and independence. Especially during the Winter War and the Continuation War Work-related values are emphasized, as the outcome of the war was seen as a fruit of hard work and perseverance.

[...] kansamme asema nykyisinä myrskyisinä aikoina on vaikea ja vaaranalainen. Mutta vaikeudet ja vaarat eivät saa meitä pelottaa. Kansan oma kunto lopultakin ratkaisee sen kohtalon. Tietoisuus siitä antaa luottamusta tulevaisuuteen ja lisää vastuunalaisuuden tunnetta.
[...] the position of our nation in the present stormy times is both difficult and dangerous. But dangers and difficulties are not to scare us. After all, it is the prowess of nation itself, which will determine its fate. Awareness of this gives confidence in the future, and augments the sense of responsibility.
Svinhufvud (acting as Regent), Parliament Opening Speech 1918/2

Me olemme joutuneet elämämme suurimpaan kamppailuun, jossa on kysymys maamme ja kansamme tulevaisuudesta, sen vapaudesta tai orjuudesta. Mutta orjan iestä ei tämä kansa ole koskaan kantanut ja sen tähden se ponnistaa nytkin voimansa elääkseen.
We find ourselves in the greatest struggle of our lives, in which the future of our land and people is at stake, its freedom or slavery. But the yoke of slavery has never been borne by this people, and therefore it now too exerts itself in order to live.
Kallio, Parliament Opening Speech 1940

The economic crises also present a different picture from either the famine or the wars. During the Energy Crisis 1973-1975, the emphasis was on a collective effort to reduce energy consumption in everyday life. Therefore the increase of Conformity values can be seen as following the presentation of joint actions as the means of solution. Work is again presented as the solution out of this crisis, as the following excerpt shows.

On turhaa kuvitella, että me voisimme joillakin sisäisillä siirroilla tai järjestelyillä selvittää niistä taloudellisista vaikeuksista, joihin olemme joutuneet. Ainoaksi ulospääsyn tieksi jää kaikkien kansalaispiirien ahkeruus ja uuttera työ.
It is useless to imagine that we can with some internal relocations or internal reorganizing overcome the economic difficulties in which we find ourselves. The only way out is for all citizens to be diligent and work hard.
Kekkonen, Parliament Opening Speech 1974

The recession in 1990-93 took place after a decade of economic growth, which had brought to the forefront Self-Direction values¹⁹⁵. Economic growth favors also the increase of Universalism, which in fact drops after the crisis, with Benevolence values being less affected. However, Education values do show an increase not present in the previous crisis, and were presented as being part of the solution in turning the tide of the recession.

¹⁹⁵ For a discussion of Finnish values of the period, see Helkama & Seppälä (2006); Pohjanheimo (1997), and Puohiniemi (2002).

Taloudellisesti vaikeinakin aikoina meidän pitää myös muistaa, että rakennamme tulevaisuutta kansalaisten koulutustason ja osaamisen varaan. Koulutukseen ja tutkimukseen on yhteiskuntamme resursseja uhrattava suhdanteista riippumatta.

Even during economically trying times we need to remember that we are building the future on the basis of the level of education of the citizens, and on their know-how. We have to spend the resources of our society on research and education, regardless of the economical situation.

Koivisto, Parliament Opening Speech 1992

7.4 SPEECH TYPES

As was stated earlier, the speech types were chosen based on the criteria of the speeches being (1) aimed at the entire nation, (2) public, (3) regularly occurring, (4) given by the ruler, or in his¹⁹⁶ name, or with his authorization, and (5) spanning as much of the entire period as possible. Using these criteria three main speech types were included: Prayer Day Declarations, Parliament Opening Speeches and New Year's Speeches. In addition, other speeches were included ($N = 12$) in the analysis for the general use of values and statistics, time and pivot points. They were included in the study, because they fulfilled most of the criteria above (the exception being criteria (3), and partially (5)), in addition to adding to the otherwise existing gap from 1907 till 1917. Table 23 summarizes the characteristics of the speeches.

One of the questions was whether the values would differ from speech type to speech type. It was hypothesized that there would not be substantial differences, as the speakers were the same for each year. This hypothesis did not receive support, as can be seen from the sections below as there are significant differences between speech types.

7.4.1 GENERAL RESULTS

The speeches differ from each other across the entire period in a statistically significant way ($p < .001$) for all values except for Hedonism $F(3, 351) = .48$, $p = .702$, and Education, $F(3, 351) = 1.15$, $p = .304$.

Figure 11 shows the means for each value per speech types, giving an overall picture of the three main speech types.¹⁹⁷ As can be seen from this figure, Prayer Day Declarations have a profile different from the other two, which in turn are quite alike.

Furthermore, comparing Parliament Opening Speeches to New Year's Speeches statistically shows that they are quite similar, but not identical. They differed statistically significantly ($p < .05$) from one another for

¹⁹⁶ All the rulers in this study were male, hence the use of the masculine pronoun.

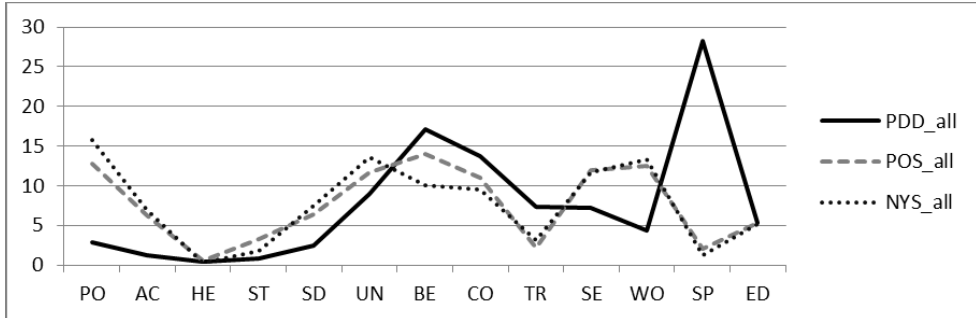
¹⁹⁷ The speeches labeled "Other" have been excluded from the following analysis

Benevolence, Spirituality, and Stimulation values. For Power values, $F(1, 151) = 3.05$, $p = .083$, and Tradition values, $F(1, 151) = 3.17$, $p = .077$ the differences point towards significance, but for all other values the differences did not reach significance.

Table 23. *Characteristics of speech types*

Speech type	Years included in this study	By whom	To whom (based on textual evidence)	How promulgated	Purpose
Prayer Day Declarations N= 173	1812-1901, 1917-1999	Czar (ghost writers), Senate, Government, President and Minister of Education, the Bible verse of the declarations by the Archbishop's office in Turku	All Lutheran Finns, the whole nation, all Christian citizens	Read aloud in churches, published in the official magazine, part of the yearly collection of laws and statutes, Bible verses in all major newspapers	-issuing political comments and statements -maintenance of national cohesion -creation of civic religion and national identity, - underlining the link between the State and the Church
Parliament Opening Speeches, N=104	1809, 1863-2000	Czar, President, and exceptions (1923), ghost writers (??)	The Diet, Members of Parliament, the nation	Official newspapers, first also churches and as part of the yearly collection of laws and statutes	Setting the political stage, highlighting the work ahead, motivating the Parliament's work, outlining foreign policy questions
New Year's Speeches N=66	1935-2000	President him/herself, usually no ghost writers, four exceptions (1942, 1944, 1945, and 1993)	All citizens	radio, TV, national newspapers	Strengthening of national unity and cohesion, formation of national identity, commenting on "the state of the Republic",
Other N=12	1894 (N=2), 1899, 1908-09, 1911, 1917, 1918 (N=5)	Czar, Senate	All citizens	Newspapers, read aloud in churches, pinned on noticeboards in public places	Making political statements, mainly in times of transition

Figure 11 Value profile per speech type based on the mean percentage of frequency of mention for each value per speech type



Note 1: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST= Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

Note 2: PDD_all = Prayer Day Declarations, POS_all = Parliament Opening Speeches, NYS_all = New Year's Speeches

The Prayer Day Declarations have a stronger emphasis on Benevolence, Conformity, Tradition, and Spirituality values than in the other two speech types. Work-related values, Power, and Achievement values are markedly lower, as are Security values. Their similarities notwithstanding, New Year's Speeches are higher in Universalism values than Parliament Opening Speeches, which in turn are higher in Benevolence values.

The following table shows value hierarchies for each speech type.

Table 24. The ranking order of values in speeches according to speech types.

Speech type	PDD	POS	NYS
1.	<i>Spirituality</i>	Benevolence	Power
2.	Benevolence	Power	Universalism
3.	Conformity	<i>Work</i>	<i>Work</i>
4.	Universalism	Security	Security
5.	Tradition	Universalism	Benevolence
6.	Security	Conformity	Conformity
7.	<i>Education</i>	Self-Direction	Self-Direction
8.	<i>Work</i>	Achievement	Achievement
9.	Power	<i>Education</i>	<i>Education</i>
10.	Self-Direction	Stimulation	Tradition
11.	Achievement	Tradition	Stimulation
12.	Stimulation	<i>Spirituality</i>	<i>Spirituality</i>
13.	Hedonism	Hedonism	Hedonism

Note1: PDD = Prayer Day Declarations (1812-1999), POS = Parliament Opening Speeches (1809-2000), NYS =New Year's Speeches (1935-2000)

As can be seen, the speeches differ from each other with Prayer Day Declarations forming a category of their own with a preference for Self-Transcendence and Conservation values over Self-Enhancement and Openness-to-Change values.

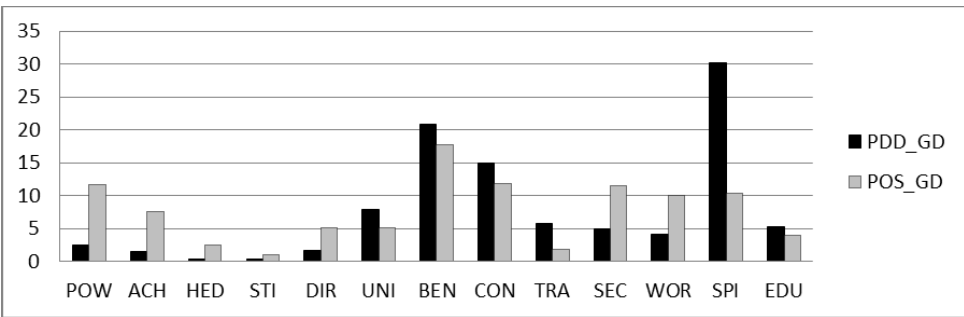
New Year's Speeches and Parliament Opening Speeches present a closely resembling ranking order: for both Work-related values rank quite high (3rd place); Power values are also high, being the first for New Year's Speeches and the second for Parliament Opening Speeches. The main difference between the two is in the place they allocate to Benevolence and Universalism.

7.4.2 FORM OF GOVERNMENT VS. SPEECH TYPE

As was noted earlier, the two periods differ from each other in a statistically significant way for most values. In this section the differences of polity will be looked at from the point of the speech types: how do the two periods vary from one another regarding values?

The following two figures present the mean percentage of frequency of mention for values per each political period, i.e. Grand Duchy and Independence in speeches of different types. For the Grand Duchy period, the two main types of speeches were compared to each other, i.e. Prayer Day Declarations and Parliament Opening Speeches. Again the hypothesis was that there would not be great statistical differences, given that both the polity and speaker were the same.

Figure 12 . Mean percentage of frequencies of mention for all values in Prayer Day Declarations and Parliament Opening Speeches during the Grand Duchy period (1809-1911)



Note 1: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST = Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

Note 2: PDD_GD = Prayer Day Declarations during the Grand Duchy period (1809-1901), POS_GD = Parliament Opening Speeches during the Grand Duchy period (1809-1907)

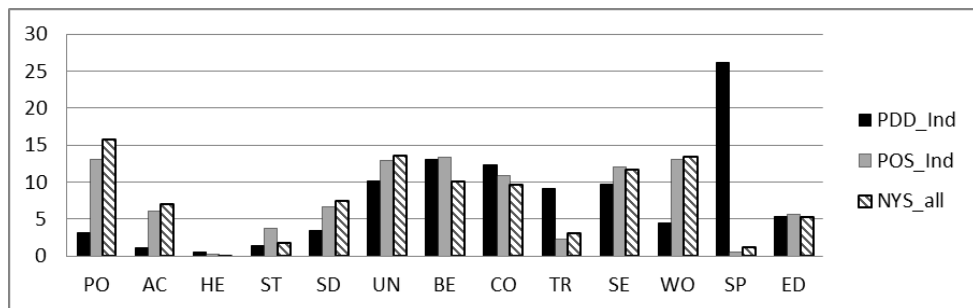
However, Prayer Day Declarations (N=91) and Parliament Opening Speeches (N=16) did differ in a statistically significant way for most of the values (p

<.05). The exception were the following, for which there were no statistically significant differences ($p > .05$): Stimulation, $F(1, 105) = 1.94$, $p = .167$, Benevolence, $F(1, 105) = 1.34$, $p = .249$, and Education values $F(1, 105) = .90$, $p = .345$. The differences for Conformity values nearly reached significance, $F(1, 105) = 3.65$, $p = .059$.

As can be seen from figure 12, the differences between the Prayer Day Declarations and the Parliament Opening Speeches are at their largest (as can be expected) concerning the Spirituality values. Parliament Opening Speeches show higher values in Openness-to-Change values in general as well as in Self-Enhancement values. In addition Security and Work-related values are also higher than they in Prayer Day Declarations.

The following figure shows the differences between speech types during the period of Independence. As for the Grand Duchy period, for most values the differences reached statistical significance ($p < .05$). The exception are Hedonism values $F(2, 233) = .94$, $p = .391$, and Security values, $F(2, 233) = 2.47$, $p = .087$, and Education values, $F(2, 233) = .26$, $p = .770$.

Figure 13 Mean percentage of frequencies of mention for all values in Prayer Day Declarations, Parliament Opening Speeches and New Year's Speeches during the period of Independence (1917-2000)



Note 1: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST = Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction,

UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security,

WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

Note 2: PDD_Ind = Prayer Day Declarations during Independence (1917-1999),

POS_Ind = Parliament Opening Speeches during Independence (1917-2000),

NYS_all = New Year's Speeches (1935-2000)

The figure above showed the mean percentage of frequency of mention for values for speeches during Independence. Prayer Day Declarations (N=82) continue to be the highest in Spirituality values. Of the Conservation values, Conformity and Tradition are higher in Prayer Day Declarations, whereas Security values are higher in Parliament Opening Speeches and New Year's Speeches.

The New Year's Speeches (N=66) are higher than the others on Self-Enhancement values. Universalism, a Self-Transcendence value type, scores higher in the Parliament Opening Speeches and New Year's Speeches than in Prayer Day Declarations, but Benevolence values are higher in Parliament

Opening Speeches and in Prayer Day Declarations than in New Year's Speeches.

Parliament Opening Speeches (N=88) and New Year's Speeches also show higher Openness-to-Change values than Prayer Day Declarations. Also for Self-Enhancement values they score higher than the Prayer Day Declarations as well as for Work-related values.

7.4.3 TIME AND SPEECH TYPES

This section looks at the interplay between values, time and speech type. The viewpoint is still that of speech types, so that the change in time various values show is looked at within each speech type. Table 25 illustrates the correlations for time and speech types.

The three speech types differ from one another in that values in the Prayer Day Declarations and Parliament Opening Speeches show more covariance with time than values New Year's Speeches.

As can be seen from the table, the only values to behave the same way in all speech types were Universalism values and Spirituality values: the former increase and the latter decrease.

Prayer Day Declarations and Parliament Opening Speeches both also show a strong decrease in Benevolence values.

Furthermore, Prayer Day Declarations show an increase for Stimulation, Self-Direction, Tradition and Security values, i.e. in Openness-to-Change and in Conservation value dimensions (exception being Conformity, which albeit being a Conservation value, shows decrease in time).

Parliament Opening Speeches show an increase (in addition to the abovementioned Universalism values) in Stimulation and Work-related values. The speeches show a decrease in Hedonism values, in addition to the previously mentioned Benevolence and Spirituality.

New Year's Speeches don't show any statistically significant correlation between value frequencies and time, except for the abovementioned decrease in Spirituality values and increase in Universalism values.

Table 25. *Correlations of time (year) and speech type*

Values	PO	AC	HE	ST	SD	UN	BE	CO	TR	SE	WO	SP	ED
PDD													
YEAR													
Pearson Correlation	.13	-.08	-.00	.24**	.25**	.21**	-.44**	-.24**	.22**	.41**	.00	-.18*	.09
Sig. (2-tailed)	.092	.296	.980	.001	.001	.006	.000	.002	.002	.000	.966	.018	.240
POS													
YEAR													
Pearson Correlation	.00	-.06	-.36**	.31**	.09	.34**	-.30**	.009	-.02	-.06	.20*	-.66**	.04
Sig. (2-tailed)	.970	.518	.000	.001	.386	.000	.002	.932	.869	.560	.043	.000	.669
NYS													
YEAR													
Pearson Correlation	-.06	-.12	.017	.16	-.12	.34**	.05	-.21	-.14	.24	-.09	-.41**	.02
Sig. (2-tailed)	.621	.324	.895	.207	.333	.004	.699	.089	.273	.053	.462	.001	.877

**, Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Note 1: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST= Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security,

WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

Note 2: PDD = Prayer Day Declarations, POS= Parliament Opening Speeches, NYS= New Year's Speeches

7.5 NON-SVT VALUES

As one of the objectives of this study was to explore the presence (or the lack thereof) of Non-SVT¹⁹⁸ values of Spirituality, Work-related values and Education, this section summarizes the quantitative results for these three value types.

First of all, as can be seen in section 7.2 on general statistical results, the Non-SVT values were present in more than two-thirds of all speeches (Spirituality in 65.6%, Education in 73.5%, and Work-related values in 78.9%). The volume of their presence naturally fluctuates, as will be seen in the tables below, but nevertheless, in contrast for example to Hedonism and Stimulation values, they are clearly more present throughout.

Of all the values mentioned they cover 28.3% over all the time period (as can be seen from the table 26). When looked from the point of polity, the following table shows how the ratio of the SVT values and the Non-SVT values has changed.

Table 26. *Percentile ratio of SVT values to Non-SVT values across all speeches*

Polity	SVT	Non- SVT
Grand Duchy	66.9	33.1
Independence	75.3	24.7

The presence of Non-SVT values being higher in the Grand Duchy period is mainly due to the volume of mentions of Spirituality, and to the fact that the growth in time of the frequency of mention for Work-related values has not filled the space left by the decline in Spirituality values, but it would seem that Universalism values fill that role.

The following table illustrates the correlations of the Non-SVT values and SVT values.

¹⁹⁸ There were also other expressions which could have been classified as values, but were not included in this study, e.g. 'trust', as separate from 'being trustworthy, which is a Benevolence value (as in this example in Parliament Opening Speech of 1863 by Alexander II, "Ei mitkään teot Minun puoleltani ole saattaneet hämmäntää sitä luottamusta, joka on välttämätöin Hallitsijan ja kansan kesken". [No actions on My part have been able to disturb the trust which is necessary between the Ruler and the people.] Translation by the author.).

Table 27. *Correlations of Non-SVT values (Spirituality, Work-related values and Education) with SVT values.*

		SP	WO	ED	PO	AC	HE	ST	SD	UN	BE	CO	TR	SE
SP	Pearson Correlation	-	-.55**	-.11*	-.56**	-.47**	.08	-.27**	-.36**	-.32**	.12*	.18**	.46**	-.38**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.038	.000	.000	.131	.000	.000	.000	.025	.001	.000	.000
WO	Pearson Correlation		-	.00	.42**	.36**	-.02	.22**	.01	-.01	-.26**	-.23**	-.32**	.09
	Sig. (2-tailed)			.945	.000	.000	.698	.000	.820	.868	.000	.000	.000	.106
ED	Pearson Correlation			-	.07	.05	-.07	.14**	-.04	-.06	-.18**	-.17**	-.07	-.18**
	Sig. (2-tailed)				.199	.372	.176	.009	.423	.305	.001	.001	.185	.001

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Note: SP = Spirituality, WO = Work-related values, ED = Education, PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST = Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security

Spirituality values correlate positively with Benevolence, Conformity and Tradition values, but not with Security or Universalism values, placing it therefore somewhere between the Self-Transcendence and Conservation quadrants. Spirituality values show negative correlations with Work-related values and with Education values, and, as could be expected based on the positive correlations, show negative correlations with Self-Enhancement values (Power and Achievement) and with Openness-to-Change values (Self-Direction and Stimulation).¹⁹⁹

Work-related values correlate positively with Power, Achievement and Stimulation values²⁰⁰, placing it near the Self-Enhancement and Openness-to-Change quadrants.

Education values correlate positively only with Stimulation values, but not with Self-Direction values, nor with Conformity or Tradition values, as would have been expected based on the hypothesis. They correlated negatively with Benevolence, Conformity and Security values.²⁰¹

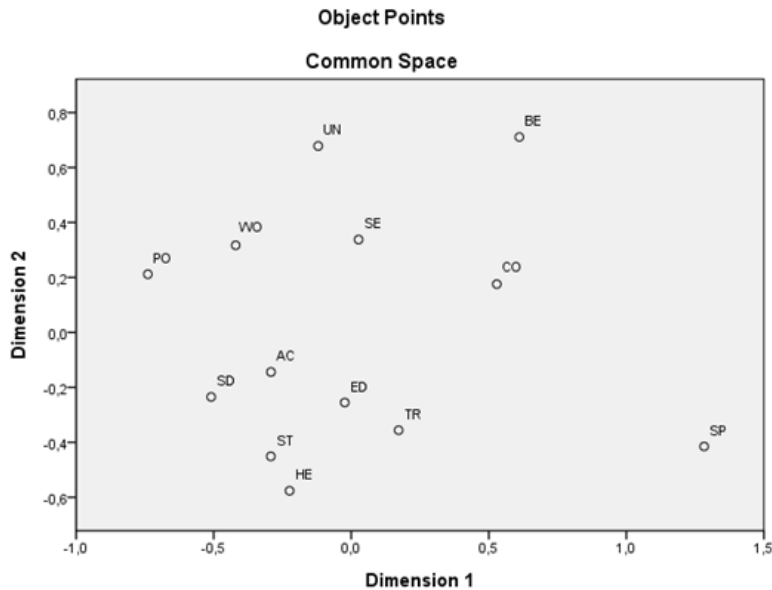
The following figure shows the relative proximity of values in relation to one another.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ Whether the pattern seen here is typical of Spirituality values in general, or only holds for the present data would warrant further research. For further elaboration, see next chapter.

²⁰⁰ As Work-related values did in among the students of Economy in Myrre & Helkama's (2001) data as well.

²⁰¹ For a more complete picture of the connections between SVT and Non-SVT values, the quantitative data needs to be compared with the qualitative, see section 7.1.5

²⁰² The plots split time-wise are in the Appendix

Figure 14 Relative proximity of values (both Non-SVT and SVT values) across all data

Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST= Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

The following figures show the Non-SVT values separately and divided by occurrence per speech type. As was seen in the previous section, the speech types differ from one another especially in relation to Spirituality values, and to a lesser degree in Work-related values.

The three Non-SVT values will be looked at separately.

7.5.1 WORK-RELATED VALUES

The next figure illustrates how the mentioning-frequency of Work-related values has fluctuated in the different speech types. As was already noted before in section 7.4, the differences in Work-related values between the main speech types reaches statistical significance, $F(3, 351) = 60.53$, $p = .000$.

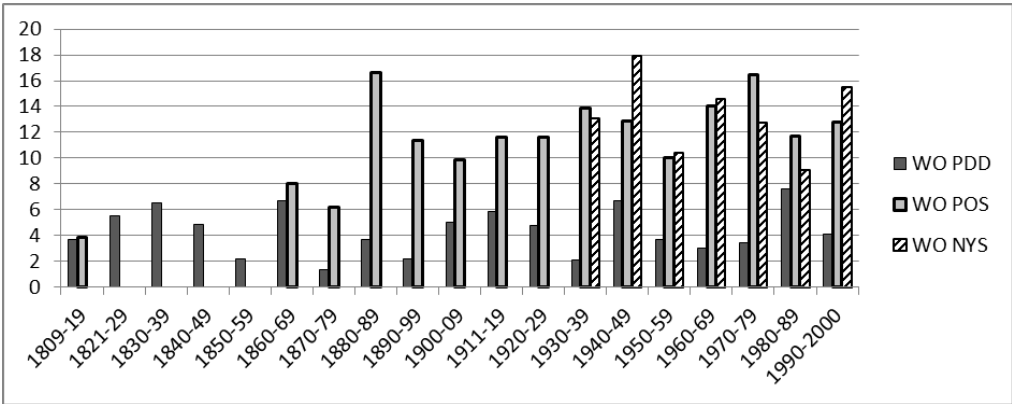
The peaks of Work-related values in general have been addressed in the section 7.3 on Time-related changes (see e.g. Table 21).

It is to be noticed that taking into account the different speech types, there is such a difference in the frequency of Work-related values, even in the latter part of the 20th century, that it seems to confirm hypothesis of the impact of the speech type on values, rather than uphold the hypothesis that as the giver is the same person, the values would be more similar.

As can be seen, in each speech type the Work-related values have occupied a different range of percentage: in Prayer Day Declarations the

fluctuation is between from 1% to nearly 8% of values mentioned, whereas for Parliament Opening Speeches it is between 4-16%. In New Year's Speeches Work-related values fluctuate between 9-18%.

Figure 15 Fluctuation of Work-related values over period in three speech types, as calculated by mean percentage of frequency of mention per decade



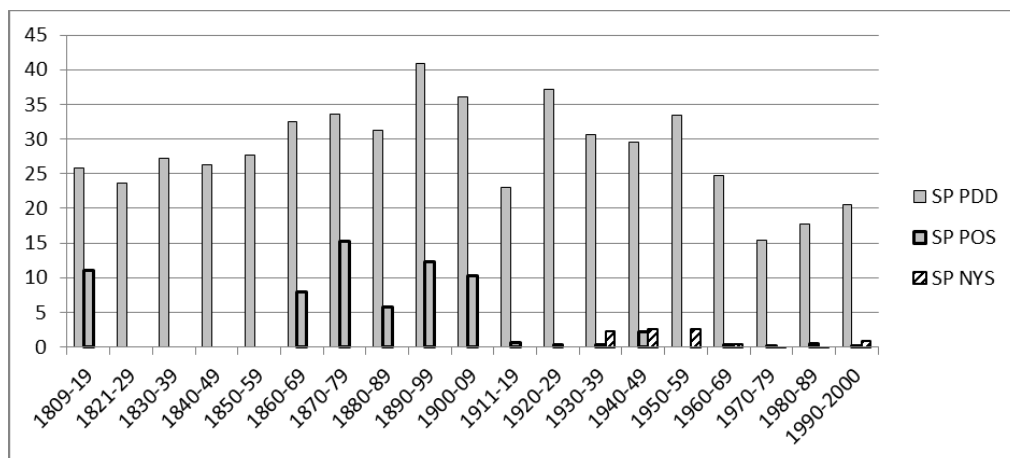
Note: WO= Work-related values, PDD =Prayer Day Declarations, POS= Parliament Opening Speeches, NYS= New Year's Speeches

The peaks in Work-related values occur at different times in different speeches. In Prayer Day Declarations Work-related values are emphasized most in 1860s, 1940s and 1980s, where as in Parliament Opening Speeches Work-related values get the strongest emphasis in the 1880s and 1970s, staying fairly high also in 1930s and 1940s and again in 1960s. New Year's Speeches show a different pattern, in that Work-related values are most mentioned in the 1940s. If mapped onto the historical events as context, these periods coincide with great societal upheavals, e.g. the Great Famine of the 1860s, WW II and its aftermath in the 1940s, and the period of strong emigration of the 1960s and 1970s (for a more detailed discussion, see chapter 3).

7.5.2 SPIRITUALITY

In the light of the formulated hypothesis, it is interesting that the Spirituality values are not the sole property of the Prayer Day Declarations, but are also present in the other speeches. As was mentioned before (see chapter 5), taking into account the context of each of these speech types, there are differences in speech types especially in regard to Spirituality values. The following figure illustrates the fluctuations of Spirituality values not only in tie but also in relation to the different speech types.

Figure 16 Fluctuation of the Spirituality values over the whole period in three speech types, as calculated by mean percentage of frequency of mention per decade



Note: SP= Spirituality, PDD =Prayer Day Declarations, POS= Parliament Opening Speeches, NYS= New Year's Speeches

This figure shows that Spirituality values were also part of the Parliament Opening Speeches till 1900s in a fairly substantial way (fluctuating from 6-15%). In the following decades they decline sharply, only rising in the 1940s to ca. 2%. New Year's Speeches have ca. 2.5% of Spirituality values for the first three decades they were given, but decrease to nearly zero in the following decades. In the 1990s they are at a 1%. In Prayer Day Declarations there is a sharp drop in Spirituality values in the 1910s and again in 1970s. There is slight upward trend in the Prayer Day Declarations towards the end of the 20th century, but as was seen in the correlation tables above, even in Prayer Day Declarations Spirituality values are on overall decline.

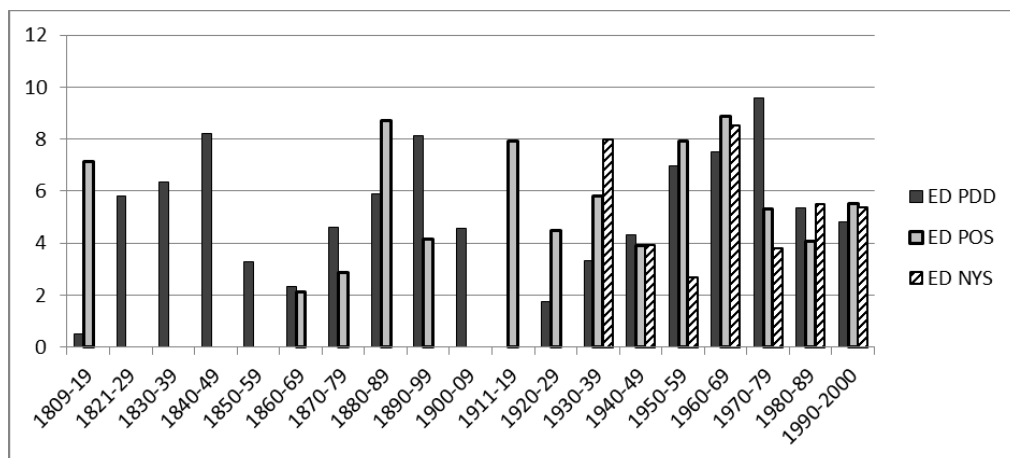
7.5.3 EDUCATION

In comparison to the other two NON-SVT values of this present study, Education values are in a category of their own in that their overall presence is much smaller, as can be seen from table 16, their overall mean percentage is 5.2 (SD=5.6) in comparison to the 8.4 mean percentage of Work-related values (SD=7.3), and 14.7 (SD=15.6) of Spirituality values. Also, there is not statistically significant variance between Education value scores in different speeches, as was reported in section 7.4.1.

All this notwithstanding, as was seen in the first section of this chapter reporting the qualitative results, education and pursuit of it are well integrated in the concepts mentioned as a value in the speeches.

The following figure shows the fluctuation of Education values.

Figure 17 Fluctuation of Education values over period in three speech types, as calculated by mean percentage of frequency of mention per decade



Note: ED= Education, PDD=Prayer Day Declarations, POS= Parliament Opening Speeches, NYS= New Year's Speeches

As can be seen in this chart, in Prayer Day Declarations, the importance of Education values is higher in 1840s and again in 1890s and in 1970s. Interestingly all there speech types are quite similar in the average percentage for Education values in 1960s and again for the last two decades of the 20th century. It would therefore seem that appealing to Education values is less context-bound than the other values, as also the previously reported results point out (see section 7.4.1).

7.6 RULERS' VALUE PROFILES

In this section are included only the speeches signed by or approved of by the ruler in question.²⁰³ Due to the fact (see table 13) that many of the speeches of 1917-1919, and all the Prayer Day Declarations 1918-1930 were given by the Government, a chart comparing the Government value frequencies with those of Presidents Ståhlberg and Relander has also been added.

Another caveat to be mentioned is that these speeches and the subsequent profiles may or may not reflect the personally held values of the alleged speakers, but to assess their exact penmanship remains outside the scope of this study.

The following table presents the speeches included in this section. For each ruler is indicated the year of reign/tenure, together with the number and types of speeches included.²⁰⁴

²⁰³ For type and number of speeches, see Table 11

²⁰⁴ For a more detailed description, see chapter 4.

Table 28. *Rulers and their speeches according to polity with Government given speeches included*

CZAR	REIGN	N	PDD	POS	NYS	OTHER
Alexander I	1809-25	13	11	2		
Nicholas I	1825-55	32	32			
Alexander II	1855-81	31	27	4		
Alexander III	1881-94	17	13	4		
Nicholas II	1894-1917	17	8	6		3
PRESIDENT	TENURE	N	PDD	POS	NYS	OTHER
Ståhlberg	1919-25	5		5		
Relander	1925-1931	6	1	8		
Svinhufvud	1908-11, 1918, 1931-37	20	5	9	3	3
Kallio	1937-40	10	4	3	3	
Ryti	1940-44	9	3	4	2	
Mannerheim	1919, 1944-46	3	1	2		
Paasikivi	1946-56	32	10	11	11	
Kekkonen	1956-82	76	26	25	25	
Koivisto	1982-94	39	13	14	12	
Ahtisaari	1994-2000	18	6	6	6	
GIVER OF SPEECH	YEARS	N	PDD	POS	NYS	OTHER
Government	1917-30	19	13			6

Note: PDD =Prayer Day Declarations, POS= Parliament Opening Speeches, NYS= New Year's Speeches

The basic descriptive statistics for the two groups of rulers are given in the following table. As can be seen, the Czars means were higher on Benevolence, Conformity and Spirituality, whereas the Presidents means were higher on Power, Achievement, Stimulation, Self-Direction, Universalism, Security, Work-related values, and slightly higher for Education values.

These results are in line with the findings of Schwartz & Sagie (2000), which state that under democracy value pluralism increases and consensus over which values to pursue decreases, resulting in more values been mentioned but with none clearly dominating.

Table 29. *Czars and Presidents: descriptive statistics of frequency of mention per value type across all speeches*

Value	Czars		Presidents	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
PO	4.1	1.9	10.2	3.0
AC	2.7	1.9	4.3	1.5
HE	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.4
ST	0.5	0.6	2.0	1.0
SD	2.5	1.4	6.5	2.9
UN	7.5	1.9	11.4	3.1
BE	19.9	7.4	12.5	1.4
CO	14.6	1.1	11.3	3.0
TR	5.1	0.9	4.8	2.4
SE	6.3	2.0	12.7	2.4
WO	5.1	1.2	10.9	1.2
SP	16.5	4.1	7.7	4.1
ED	4.8	1.8	5.2	1.1

Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST = Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

Also, the values profiles of the Czars are more similar to each other than the Presidents. The Spearman's rho for the Czars' profiles is between .80-.96, and for the Presidents between .37-.98, but for the Presidents, half of the correlation coefficients are below .74. The correlations will be given reported in greater detail in the following sections.

The following sections will look at the rulers more in detail, taking into account their historical setting. The first section will look at the Czars, following the historical outline of section 3.9.1. The second section will look at the Presidents in the same order as in section 3.9.2.

7.6.1 THE CZARS

The following table gives an overall picture of the Czars' values in terms of the distribution of value dimensions. The high percentage of Non-SVT values is made up mostly of Spirituality values, as can be seen in the figures below.

Table 30. *Mean percentages of the value dimensions in the Czars' speeches*

CZARS	SE	OPEN	ST	CONS	Non-SVT
Alexander I	3.6	2.2	37.4	26.8	30
Nicholas I	3.2	1.5	33	24	38.4
Alexander II	6.4	2.7	28.1	26.4	36.1
Alexander III	10	4.1	16.6	26.6	42.7
Nicholas II	10.7	7	22	26.1	34.4

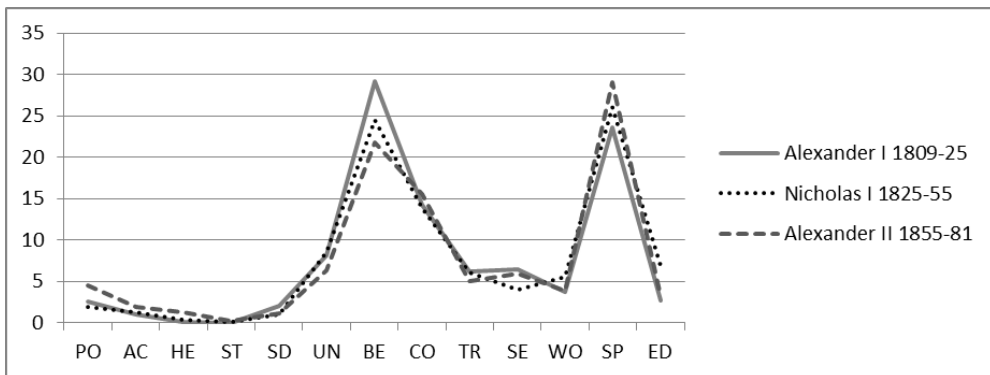
Note: SE=Self-Enhancement, OPEN = Openness-to-Change, ST=Self-Transcendence, CONS=Conservation

As can be seen, the Czars are quite similar in their low emphasis on Self-Enhancement values (the first three being even lower than the last two), even though this was still a time when the monarchy was considered to be sacred, and the sovereigns ruled by “divine right”.

Also, the somewhat surprising finding is that not even the most reformatory Czar Alexander II does score high on Openness-to-Change values, even though there were great societal changes taking place during his reign (see chapter 3). Conservation values stay basically the same throughout.

The following figure shows the individual value profiles for the first three Czars, i.e. rulers of the period prior to the strongest thrust of Russification, which started after the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. As can be seen, the profiles are quite similar. For these three Czars the Spearman correlations are .91-.96.

Figure 18 The Czars' value profiles 1809-81: mean percentage of value frequency across all speeches



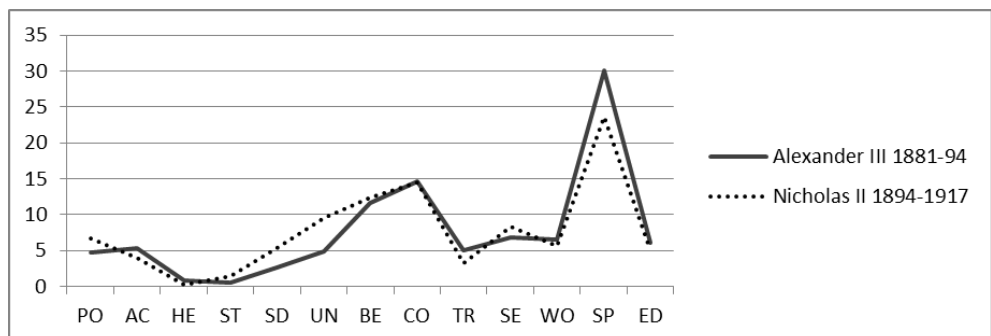
Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST = Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

The two-peaked pattern of high Benevolence and Conformity values is very clear, as is the lack of Hedonism, Stimulation and Self-Direction values. Alexander I favored Benevolence values slightly more than Spirituality values, contrary to his successors, but the differences are minimal.

The reigns of the two last Czars were characterized by a strong emphasis of the importance of the Russian Empire and its cohesion, among other things also halting the expansion of the privileges extended to the Grand Duchy of Finland. During the reign of Nicholas II, there were two waves of Russification.

As can be seen from Table 30, both Alexander III and Nicholas II emphasized slightly more than their predecessor Self-Enhancement values, but not Conservation values. The sharp rise in Non-SVT values is explicable by a strong emphasis on Spirituality values (as can be seen in the figure below). These results are in line with the findings listed in section 3.9.1.5, as consequences of being a witness to violence against close relatives include e.g. holding more tightly onto culturally meaningful paths to symbolic immortality, such as fame, wealth and in-group membership (Kosloff & Greenberg, 2009; Niesta, Fritsche & Jonas, 2008). Alexander III Self-Transcendence values are lower than those of the other Czars, and, as can be seen in the figure below, the most mentioned values are Spirituality values.

Figure 19 The Czars' value profiles 1881-1917: mean percentage of value frequency across all speeches



Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST= Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

Both Alexander III and Nicholas II place Conformity values ahead of Benevolence, which the first three Czars don't do. For the latter two also Security and Work-related values are higher than for the first three. For both these Czars Spirituality values are emphasized over other values. The Spearman correlation for these two Czars is .80.

7.6.2 THE PRESIDENTS

The first eight presidents have all been born and begun their careers under the Russian rule.²⁰⁵ However, their values differ quite markedly from those of the Czars, which is interesting in the light of the findings of the effect socialization has on values (cf. Knafo & Schwartz, 2009; Parlevliet, 2012; Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Vedder et al., 2009).

The following table gives an overall picture of the Presidents' values in terms of the distribution of value dimensions.

Table 31. *Mean percentages of the values dimensions in the Presidents' speeches*

PRESIDENTS	SELF-EN	OPEN	SELF-TR	CONS	NON-SVT
Ståhlberg	14.7	13	23.1	33	16.3
Relander	21.8	6.2	25.4	28.1	18.4
Svinhufvud	15.2	6.2	22	31	26.4
Kallio	12	11.7	18.3	33	25
Ryti	13.3	8	23.4	26.8	28.5
Mannerheim	11.4	9.5	21.3	30.4	27.6
Paasikivi	16.6	8.4	23.1	27	25.1
Kekkonen	18.5	8.3	23.1	25	25.2
Koivisto	11.6	8.3	30.5	27.7	21.8
Ahtisaari	10.7	10.3	28.9	25.9	24.2

Note: SELF-EN=Self-Enhancement, OPEN = Openness-to-Change, SELF-TR=Self-Transcendence, CONS=Conservation

The Presidents present a different pattern to that of the Czars, in that there is a much stronger emphasis on the Self-Enhancement. This is not in accordance to what was expected, as e.g. the political power the Presidents wield is far inferior to that of the Czars. Also, on a national level, the influence of the Republic of Finland is markedly smaller than that of the influence of the Russian Empire. These results therefore probably reflect more the particular aspects of e.g. Power values, which comprise apart from dominion-related items also the desirability of acquisition of wealth, which is upheld on a national level, as was reported previously.

Also Openness-to-Change values are emphasized more than before. This is to be expected, as with increased modernization, also the previously emphasized social status quo becomes less important. However, overall Self-Transcendence values triumph over Self-Enhancement values just as Conservation values triumph over Openness-to-Change values. As can also be seen, the Non-SVT values are still present quite strongly, even if to a lesser degree than in the speeches of the Czars.

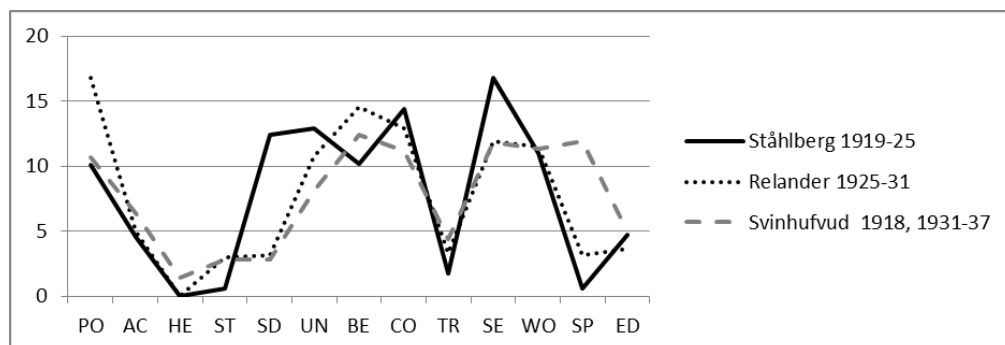
²⁰⁵ For details, see chapter 3.

It can also be noted that the first four Presidents emphasize Conservation values the most of all, and only the last two emphasize Self-Transcendence values more than Conservation values.

In the following sections the individual profiles of the Presidents are presented. These have been grouped so that the first three are before the WWII, the next three during the WWII, and then two next ones are of the reconstruction and Cold War era, and lastly the two of the modern welfare-state.

Presidents of the beginning of the Republic (1919-37): Ståhlberg, Relander and Svinhufvud

Figure 20 Presidents' Ståhlberg, Relander and Svinhufvud value profiles 1919-37: mean percentage of value frequency across all speeches



Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST= Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

As can be seen, the presidents also differ from one another. President Ståhlberg's speeches show an emphasis on Security and Conformity values, President Relander's speeches emphasize Power values and President Svinhufvud's values²⁰⁶ are more evenly spread out between Benevolence, Security, Spirituality, and Work-related values. The Spearman correlations vary between .55-.78.

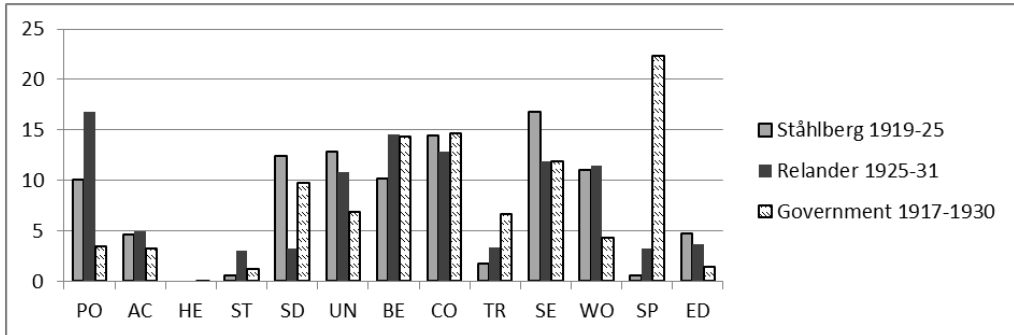
The following chart shows the Government issued declarations compared to the speeches of the same era given by the Presidents Ståhlberg and Relander.

As the figure shows, the Presidents were higher on Power, Universalism and Work-related values than what was mentioned in the Government declarations. The Government declarations emphasize Tradition values more than the presidents, which, together with the higher peak in Spirituality, can

²⁰⁶ The speeches given by Svinhufvud as the Speaker of the Parliament in response the opening of the Parliament in 1908, 1909, and 1911 are not included in this analysis, as they occur before Independence.

be thought to be due to the fact that of the Government issued declarations most were Prayer Day Declarations (13 out of all 19). Conformity values show the least of all differences between the Government and the Presidents.

Figure 21 1917-1930 Speeches and Declarations of Presidents and Government, mean percentage of value frequency across speeches



Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST = Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

Presidents of War (1937-46): Kallio, Ryti and Mannerheim

The following value patterns of the three presidents²⁰⁷ who had to deal with the Finnish front of WWII differ from one another also in the quantity of speeches included in the present study, as can be seen in Table 30.

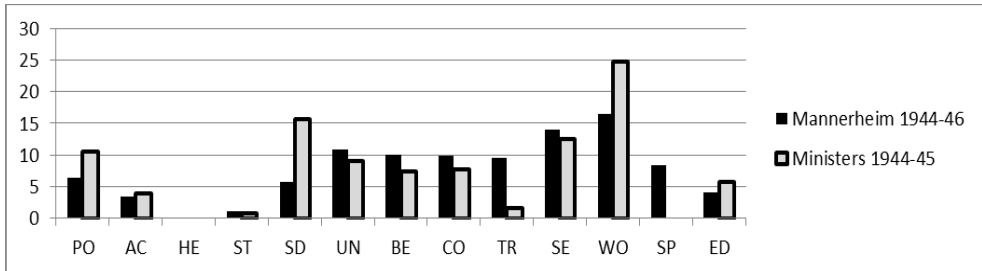
President Mannerheim only gave a few speeches within the categories of the speeches included in this study²⁰⁸. The two New Year's Speeches during his tenure were given by ministers Linkomies and Pekkala in 1944 and 1945, respectively.

The following figure shows the profiles of the means of the values President Mannerheim and the ministers mentioned.

²⁰⁷ For President Mannerheim also his Parliament Opening Speech from 1919 is included.

²⁰⁸ President Mannerheim communicated through various other speeches, and during the wars, especially his "Order of the Days" were circulated widely.

Figure 22 1944-1945 Speeches and Declarations of President Mannerheim and Ministers Linkomies and Pekkala, mean percentage of value frequency across speeches

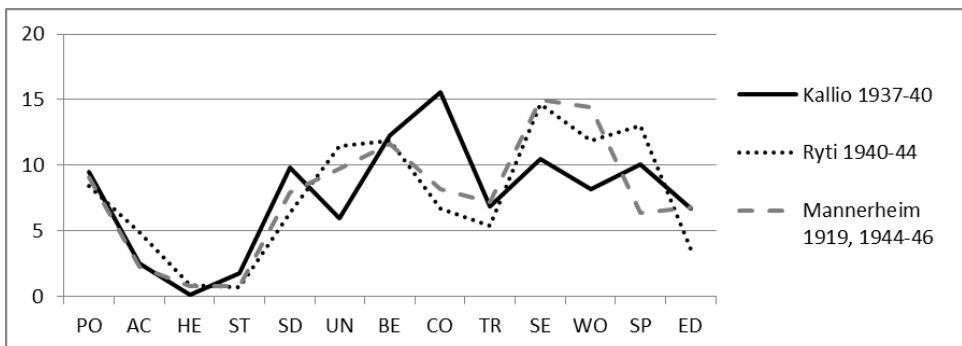


Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST = Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

The main differences can be seen in the even greater emphasis on Work-related values, Self-Direction values, and Power values the ministers included in their speeches.

The three Presidents Kallio, Ryti and Mannerheim's individual profiles are shown in the following figure. Their Spearman correlations vary from .69- .87 (the latter for the profiles of Ryti and Mannerheim).

Figure 23 Presidents' Kallio, Ryti and Mannerheim value profile 1931-46, mean percentage of value frequency across speeches



Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST = Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

The differences between the presidents is mainly in the emphasis on Conformity values (highest is President Kallio), Security values (Presidents Ryti and Mannerheim are much higher than President Kallio), and Work-related values (Presidents Ryti and Mannerheim are again much higher than President Kallio). Spirituality values show a difference between all three, with President Ryti the highest and President Mannerheim the lowest.

The differences are explained also by the figure depicting means rather than each year. For president Kallio, the Security values would undoubtedly

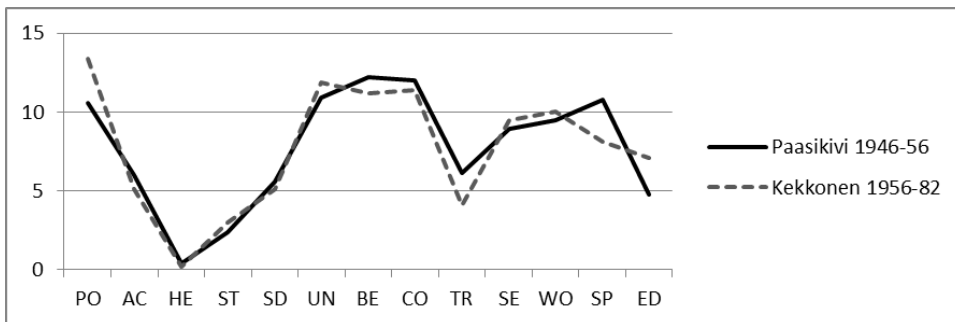
have been higher if only the war years would have been included, as they were for Presidents Ryti and Mannerheim²⁰⁹.

Presidents of reconstruction and of the Cold War (1946-82): Paasikivi and Kekkonen

The last Presidents in this series to have been born during the Grand Duchy, Presidents Paasikivi and Kekkonen have quite similar profiles, as can already be seen from the table 31.

The following figure shows the individual profiles for the two Presidents of the reconstruction era. President Kekkonen is unique in the sense that his tenure rivals that of the Czars in length of time. Also, his speeches alone number nearly one-fifth of all speeches included in the present study.

Figure 24 Presidents' Paasikivi and Kekkonen value profile 1946-82, mean percentage of value frequency across speeches



Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST = Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

After the quite large differences in values of previous presidents, Presidents Paasikivi and Kekkonen do not show large differences in their value frequencies. The Spearman correlation is .90, almost the highest between presidents' profiles. The main differences between President Paasikivi and President Kekkonen can be seen in the higher emphasis on Power values for President Kekkonen and higher emphasis on Spirituality values for President Paasikivi. Also, Education values are higher in President Kekkonen's speech than in President Paasikivi's speeches.

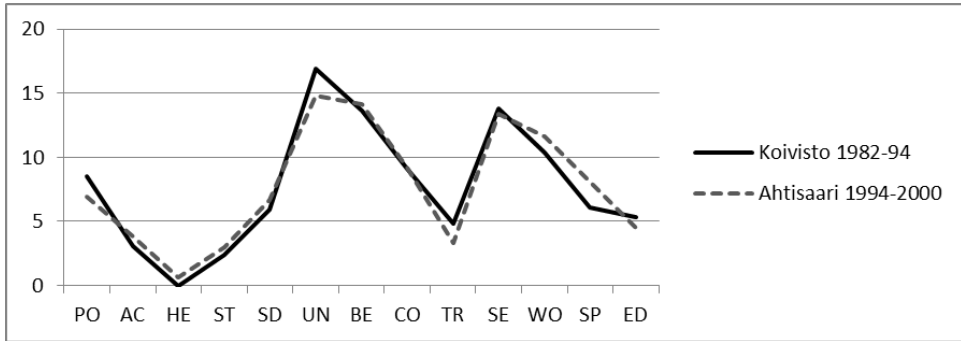
Presidents of the Welfare State (1982-2000): Koivisto and Ahtisaari

The trend of similar value profiles, which was seen for Presidents Paasikivi and Kekkonen, continues for Presidents Koivisto and Ahtisaari. Both were born after Finland became an independent Republic. As was seen in the

²⁰⁹ See section 7.3.3 on crises points for a more indepth discussion on Security values

initial table, both favor Self-Transcendence values over other values. The following individual value profiles show the frequency of mention of single value types.

Figure 25 Presidents' Koivisto and Ahtisaari value profile 1982-2000, mean percentage of value frequency across speeches



Note: PO = Power, AC = Achievement, HE = Hedonism, ST= Stimulation, SD = Self-Direction, UN = Universalism, BE = Benevolence, CO = Conformity, TR = Tradition, SE = Security, WO = Work-related values, SP = Spirituality, ED = Education

The differences between the two are quite small, and the Spearman correlation between the two Presidents is .98. They score differently mainly in Power and Universalism values (President Koivisto is slightly higher on them), and in Spirituality and Work-related values on which President Ahtisaari is higher.

8 DISCUSSION

This study focused on the values rulers (Czars and Presidents) of Finland (1809-2000) mention in their public speeches. My purpose was to examine whether the basic human values of the SVT were present in the speeches, and if so, when? Furthermore, given the length of time and the diversity in the political structures, one of the key questions was also whether the values were similar from speaker to speaker and from speech type to speech type. This study also aimed at exploring the applicability of previously found values not present in the SVT, namely Work-related values, Spirituality, and Education values. The third aim had to do with the suitability of the SVT for depicting the values of a pre/non-modern society (in this case Finland in the 19th century).

I also aimed at studying value change reflected in the speeches. The supposed pattern of value change following changes both in democratization and in socio-economic factors are discussed in relation to specific values.

The values posited by SVT were found to be present in all speeches. The most favored ones were values emphasizing Self-Transcendence, i.e. the welfare of the group at the expense of self, and, on the other hand, values emphasizing the status quo, Conservation values (namely Conformity and Security, but not Tradition). This was true throughout the time period, regardless whether the speeches were held by Czars or Presidents.

From the point of view of the robustness of the Non-SVT values, the fact that they are mentioned in nearly 65-80% of the speeches means that they are a salient component of the value system across the entire period. This is notable also because this is true also for the speeches held under the Grand Duchy period, which were given by a Russian ruler²¹⁰ instead of a Finn, emphasizing the usefulness of these value categories in understanding the value landscape in general.

General remarks: comparison of the beginning and the end

It is evident from the results that there is a pluralization of values (and of the society) going on. In the first two decades (1809-29) for example, only two value types (Spirituality and Benevolence) were needed to cover 50% of all the values mentioned; in the last two (1980-2000), four value types (Universalism, Security, Benevolence and Work-related values) were needed to cover the 50%.

²¹⁰ It is possible that in some cases the speechwriters may have been of Finnish origin, but as stated previously, the assessing and/or establishing with certainty the authorship for each speech is outside the scope of the present study.

The abovementioned pattern in the 19th century continues till the era of industrialization starting in the 1880s. In the following I will look more closely at these two ends (i.e. the beginning of the 19th century and the end of the 20th) of the time period of this research in order to tease apart the differences the results seem to point to.

Life in the 1800s: a web of relations?

This entire period can be seen on a political level as a continuous struggle between the desire for reformation on one hand and desire for security and maintenance on the other (c.f. Meinander, 2010). From a value theoretical point of view, these fall naturally into the continuum of Openness-to-Change vs. Conservation.

The emphasis on Spirituality and Benevolence as overarching values might also be an example of a more far reaching perception of life in general.

Apart from the divide of individualism and collectivism, if being rightly related to the surrounding network of relationships is one of the core concerns, then it stands to reason that one would foremost relate oneself to God and to those with whom one is in close contact. This translates itself into preference for values such as Benevolence and Spirituality. Benevolence, directly from Latin "*benevolentia*", means to have "a disposition/will to do good", which again entails a relationship in which this happen (as opposed to success, or perform well, an Achievement value). Hence, through these values one has a picture of society which is a network of relationships in which rulers and their subjects find themselves, and in which the rhetorics of the rights and duties of each are patterned according to an extended family.

The third most frequently mentioned value type in the early 1800s is Conformity, further underling the necessity to maintain the status quo and harmonious relationships. It is to be noted that it is Conformity rather than Tradition that has the upper place, as Tradition has been defined (e.g. by Schwartz, 2012) as being more concerned with the continuity of institutions and allegiance to more abstract concepts, whereas Conformity is concerned with the maintenance of harmony in face-to-face situations, and with people in close contact. Conformity also has to do with maintaining cohesion by linking generations together through underlining respect towards parents and elders.

This face-to-face aspect of Conformity values prevalence might be one of the reasons why they were so high during the Grand Duchy. In the beginning of the 19th century the technological and socio-economical distances were quite wide: few people had in their lifetime an opportunity to travel far from their villages²¹¹, let alone travel abroad. Even for a Czar, commanding the

²¹¹ Law of freedom of work and move was passed in 1868 (comparable to the current EU regulation of similar freedoms), severing the former obligatory ties of people to their villages or trades. Complete freedom of trade was established in 1879.

most advanced technology of his time, it took a few days to arrive e.g. to Helsinki from St. Petersburg.²¹²

This preoccupation with the relational personified aspect of life (strengthened as it was by the concept of a personal union between Finland and the Czar), also explains the political passivity the Finns exhibited as a reaction to the Russian occupation and rule. The Czar was present by proxy²¹³: he communicated via declarations and letters, and through concrete symbols (e.g. thrones, medals) to signify his presence in the lives of his subjects (c.f. Syrjämaa, 2003). The language used in the declarations and speeches therefore assumed a closer, personal tone:

[...] viljande WI alltid anse för WÅR yppersta ära och tillfredsställelse att se WÅRA oafbrutna omsorger för älskade Undersåtares wäl underlättas genom deras laglydnad, och belönas genom deras tacksamhet, tillgifwenhet, trohet och kärlek.

[...] WE always see as OUR highest honor and satisfaction that OUR unbroken tender care for our beloved Subjects well-being is made easier by their obedience to the law, and is rewarded by their gratefulness, devotion, loyalty and love.

Nicholas I, Prayer Day Declaration 1827/1

This personified perception of the nature of the relationship between the ruler-subjects can also add to the explanation of the ensuing political upheaval when the perceived personal relation with the Czar was severed in 1899²¹⁴. In Haslam and his colleagues' terms (2011), Nicholas II had ceased to present himself as "being for us" or "being one of us" by alienating himself from his subjects' concerns expressed by the Great Petition.

From a leadership point of view, a certain amount of deviance from the group's norms and values is still tolerated, but when the leader is perceived to no longer be aligned with the group's interests and concerns, or to have the groups best interests at heart, the ties that link the leader to the group are severed, and trust is broken (Haslam et al. 2011). The personalized interpretation of reality, visible through the upheld values, thus also contains the potential for unforeseen political consequences.

Also, as Abrams et al. (2008) found, innovation brought about by a new leader is tolerated better than when brought about by an established one. In a hereditary system of rulership this is naturally a source of tension, as the Czars ruled because of unchanged institutions, but yet sought to distinguish themselves from their predecessors. Introducing innovations was not easy, and as was discussed earlier in chapter 3, the two Czars following Alexander

²¹² For a picture of what traveling then entailed, see Acerbi, (1802), and de Custine, (1843/1991)

²¹³ Naturally the Czars were also present by the individuals representing them, such as the Governor-General

²¹⁴ for more details, see the section on Nicholas II in chapter 3.

II (i.e. Alexander III and Nicholas II) emphasized Conservation values rather than the Openness-to-Change values. The window for introducing radical political changes was there, but Conformity values won, and the momentum for change and possibility of winning back personal trust was irretrievably lost²¹⁵.

The person of the Czar (and the interpretation of his political acts as an emanation of his personality), were typically at the center of much interest and speculation during the Grand Duchy.

The personalization of politics is therefore no new phenomenon, even though it has been linked to modernization and the development of technology; especially the electronic media (cf. Caprara, 2007; Garzia, 2011; Mcallister, 2009; for a critical view see Karvonen, 2010). However, taken from the value perspective, it could be that the link between e.g. a perceived charismatic leader (in the Weberian sense) and her or his followers, can also be found from the underlying cultural assumptions of personified ties, fuelled by individually held values (see Schwartz, 2011).

Life in the 1900s: pluralized smorgasbord?

Looking at the last two decades in the present study, the 1980s and 1990s, there are notable differences of pattern to be seen in comparison to the previously mentioned patterns of the 19th century. As stated earlier, there were four value types (Universalism, Security, Benevolence and Work-related values) needed to cover 50 % of the values mentioned. The least frequent value types, Hedonism and Stimulation, together cover ca. 3% of the mentioned values. This pluralization can be seen during the entire period of Independence.

The pluralization of values is also visible in the evening out of the proportional differences between different values. During Independence no single value type rises above the all-time-high of 18.7% seen in the 1920s in Spirituality values. Hence pluralization in this study is seen not as much in new values being added to the previously endorsed ones, but that the endorsement of all upheld values is distributed more evenly.

This seems to be in line with one of the consequences of socioeconomic change often associated also with democratization (e.g. Inglehart & Welzel 2005). The other possible explanation is the political structure itself. While the rulers of the Grand Duchy era were sovereigns who ascribed to God the origin of their power, the Presidents of the Independence era were elected democratically, and so needed to make sure they are evenly reflecting the values of those whom they seek to legitimately lead (see Tyler, 2006), as their

²¹⁵ Even during his visit in Helsinki some 15 years later, the hostility was still unabated as can be seen from a contemporary film of the visit.
(http://yle.fi/elavaarkisto/artikkelit/vihattu_tsaari_nikolai_ii_vieraili_helsingissa_1915_450.html#media=466)

legitimacy is based on “*the expressed consent of those qualified to give it*” (Beetham 1999, p. 98).

The increase in democratization as a cause of, or at least a condition for, value pluralism (cf. Fisher & Schwartz 2011; Schwartz & Sagie 2000), cannot be pinpointed down to a specific time. For instance, even though it was such a momentous decision, the law guaranteeing universal suffrage in Finland in 1906 did not impact the endorsed values instantly. Value change²¹⁶ takes time, and in this case the deed preceded any change of values, as can be seen in the speeches of 1900-09, in which Conformity values are still ranking the highest of values mentioned. Democracy and autocratic rule don't go smoothly together, and democratic opportunities for the citizens in terms of parliamentary elections did not signify similarly held values in the speeches of the ruler bringing those opportunities about.

Universal suffrage does not equal over all democracy. As in the case of Finland, it is possible to have a democratically elected Parliament, but a head of State to which these rules of election do not apply. The Kekkonen era, as discussed in the chapter on the temporal context, shows another time in Finland where albeit democratic measures and structures were in place, there was nevertheless a two tier system, in which the top layer is not democratic in the same way as the layers below, or as Orwell (1972/1945) would have said, “All animals are equal. Some animals are more equal than others”. Democracy in presidential elections has, however, increased in Finland with the adoption of the new direct voting system in presidential elections, with which President Ahtisaari was elected in 1994.

In-group or out-group: the rise of Universalism

We are likely to label as saints, fools, or even traitors those who include people from beyond the boundaries normatively sanctioned in our society.

Schwartz 2007b, p. 726

In terms of value types, Universalism values take the top position, as hypothesized. The rise in Universalism values is also a further indication of the pluralization process, as Universalism values are at their core other-oriented. They call for justice, equality, broadmindedness, and world peace to be applied beyond the in-group, an aspect which separates them from Benevolence values (cf. Schwartz, 2007b, 2012).

Schwartz (2007b) studied inclusion and exclusion, finding that egalitarian, democratic cultures that are not strong on embeddedness tend to be more inclusive. He also found that democratization increases inclusiveness. He notes, “*Findings suggest that, where moral inclusiveness is high, people understand universalism (but not benevolence) values as*

²¹⁶For personal value change, see Bardi et al, 2009, Bardi & Goodwin, 2011

applying to all members of society.” (pp. 725-6). On a behavioral level this should lead to a wider acceptance of immigrants and to increasing humanitarian and ecological behavior (Ibid.).

To a degree this seems to have taken place in attitudes towards immigrants in Finland (Jaakkola, 2005): after the recession of early 1990s, the attitudes on a whole have become more positive towards immigrants²¹⁷. However, in the New Year’s Speeches²¹⁸ for instance, the word “immigrant” is not mentioned once, and the word “refugee” is mentioned 16 times in two speeches: 15 from 1988 by President Koivisto and once in 2000 by President Ahtisaari.

However, the question of inclusiveness poses a serious challenge for national leadership. How far can the pluralization continue, and the President still be seen as “one of us”? Is it truly possible to see all humanity as my in-group²¹⁹? Who will then be the prototypical member of the group? In a pluralized society, whose values and why, are the ones we assume are shared to form the basis of “us”? Yet, inclusion is a must, as the consequences of exclusion include depersonalization, discrimination, exploitation (Opatow, 1990).

Closely linked to the question of inclusiveness is also that of tolerance. As Roccas and Amit (2011) found, value priorities influence also the reactions to group heterogeneity and homogeneity. Conformity values are negatively associated with tolerance, yet the present study found that these to be an integral part of the values the leaders endorsed. Will the impact of Universalism and the increased international and societal pressure towards tolerance foster pluralization? Or will the economic pressure cause maintenance of cohesion to be interpreted as preferring homogeneity, and therefore diminish the tolerance for heterogeneous members of society? These questions undoubtedly warrant more research in varying contexts to even start to gauge an answer.

From unity of faith to unity of equality

At the center of Universalism values lies the concept of “others” and their concerns being welcomed, and their rights being regarded as important as those of the in-group. This means that the negotiation of the in-group vs. out-group is resolved in the favor of the out-group being included. How far does the inclusion extend in the speeches? The addressees of the speeches were depicted ranging from “beloved subjects” to “inhabitants of Finland” to “Lutheran subjects of Finland” to “professing Christians” to “citizens” to “us

²¹⁷ Liebkind-Ormala & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; see also Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006

²¹⁸ which are less governed by conventions as to what can or needs to be said than the other two speech types, and therefore can be thought to reflect personal opinions more closely

²¹⁹ As the title of a recent article by Farland et al. 2012 suggests, presenting a new scale, IWAH, Identification With All Humanity.

Finns”; covering all manner of relational bases from personal, geographical, religious and ethnical starting points. The decreasing of Spirituality values, no longer in the top three (they rank the 7-8th in the last decades), seems to indicate that the rise of Universalism values, with tolerance and broadmindedness at the core, makes way for a new definition unbound by religious affiliations of what a prototypical Finn is.²²⁰

The decrease in Spirituality values notwithstanding, the theorized (Norris & Inglehart, 2004) secularization²²¹ does not seem to hold completely, but certainly the trend is in line with what Norris and Inglehart state, namely that religious values are no longer seen as central to the functioning of society. That this is a mainly Western phenomenon (cf. Bruce, 2002), cannot be directly attested from the present data, but certainly the differentiation and privatization proposed by Martin (2005) seem plausible.

Decrease in Spirituality has also been linked to security being derived from other sources, such as e.g. economic growth. The idea of money and religion being in an opposing relation to one another is by no means new or solely advocated by Norris & Inglehart; on the contrary, it seems well embedded in the basic tenets of spirituality and religion in general, and, in its Christian form, the most famous expression probably being the one by Jesus in his Sermon on the Mount:

You can't worship two gods at once. Loving one god, you'll end up hating the other. Adoration of one feeds contempt for the other. You can't worship God and Money both.

Matthew 6:24, MSG

This idea is naturally echoed in the Prayer Day Declarations throughout. While the example of the US would seem to indicate that GDP and decrease of Spirituality do not necessarily go hand in hand, certainly the increase in democratization, and the egalitarianism and tolerance of diversity it entails, seem to undermine the importance of religion as a unifying force (Bruce, 2002; Martin 2005).

Universalism values, and especially equality, might then be on their way to becoming the new unifying principle present in Finnish public rhetoric. Universalism values maintain the transcendent focus of Spirituality, but without the connection to God, nevertheless pointing towards something outside of the individual and her/his immediate interest. Similar proposals of including the pursuit of immaterial, but under the heading of humanitarian, idealistic values have been used in recent research by e.g. Fisher et al, 2011.

²²⁰ cf. Finell & Liebkind, 2010

²²¹ cf. also the results in Germany of Pollack & Pickel, 2007

(Un) predicted patterns

Going back to the differences at the opposing ends of the time in this study (i.e. 1809-29 vs. 1980-2000), the other values (in addition to Universalism) making up for the 50% in the 1980s and 1990s were Security, Benevolence, and Work-related values. They do not form a motivationally homogeneous group, nor do they exhibit constant statistical similarities in that Security and Work-related values become more important as time goes by (they correlate with time at .35 and .31, respectively), whereas the importance of Benevolence diminishes: it correlates with time -.46.

The importance of Security follows the predicted pattern: it rises with the crises, except for the recession of 1993, when it is actually lower than before or after. This might be due to the nature of the last crisis: it affected very profoundly the structure of most main institutions in Finland, but it did not pose a direct threat to survival the same way e.g. the famine of the 1860s did, wherefore the anxiety created by the crisis expresses itself differently. Both Work-related values and Education values increase, maybe because actions denoted by both were seen as a solution to the crisis itself. Certainly the emphasis on their combined importance as a means for Finland to get out of the crisis was very strong.

Taloudellisesti vaikeinakin aikoina meidän pitää myös muistaa, että rakennamme tulevaisuutta kansalaisten koulutustason ja osaamisen varaan. Koulutukseen ja tutkimukseen on yhteiskuntamme resursseja uhrattava suhdanteista riippumatta.

Even during economically trying times we need to remember that we are building the future on the basis of the level of education of the citizens, and on their know-how. We have to spend the resources of our society on research and education, regardless of the economic situation.

Koivisto, Parliament Opening Speech 1992

Work-related values correlate positively throughout the data with Power, Achievement and Stimulation, all of which also grow in importance during the period under study. An exception to the link Work-related values form with other values is the link with Conformity. This was highlighted previously in chapter 7, namely the cases in which “work” links with “united” producing the Finnish word “*yhteistyö*” or “*yhteistoiminta*”, reminiscent of the inhibitive component found by Helkama & Seppälä (2006), albeit here embedded in the requisites for working together. In terms of the hypothesis concerning Work-related values, the correlation was partially as predicted i.e. to Self-Enhancement values and Stimulation), but the assumed stronger link to Conformity during Grand Duchy did not receive similar support.

The correlation of Work-related values with Power, Achievement and Stimulation, and their increasing importance would seem to be a

contradictory trend to the growth of Universalism. Power, Achievement, and Stimulation values have in common the focus on promotion of self (with the exclusion of Stimulation, an Openness-to-Change value). How then can the altruistic pursuits of Universalism be reconciled with the pursuit of Power and Achievement? In the speeches these latter values are not talked about as goals to be pursued by the individual, but by the nation as a whole. Therefore the goals promoted by Universalism are not seen as contradicting the other goals expressed by Power and Achievement values, as the focus remains on the nation as a whole, transcending the individual. This then also shifts the reference group, as it were, for Work-related values. In light of the present results, instead of the individual, the promotion of diligence, collaboration and perseverance has to be seen as an all-encompassing encouragement for people to act as one in the furthering of the interests of the collective, in the pursuit of welfare for all.

... and yet no change

The constant presence of Conformity values throughout was not what I expected to find. Their presence ranges from circa nine percent to nearly seventeen. Even though their hierarchical importance decreases with time, their presence is constant. If looked at from a dimensional point of view, Conservation values together cover ca. one- fourth to one-third of all values across all speeches and across time. It would then seem that the lens through which the results need to be looked at is indeed in line with what Haslam et al. (2011) say about the role of the leader being the bringer of cohesion. He (in this case, all the rulers being male) needs to make us one; he needs to make sure the society stays cohesive enough for the goals of the nation to be reached.

One of the universal conditions of human existence (Schwartz 1992) is that there is sufficient cooperation and cohesion for the group to survive and flourish. The ruler is in a position to both ensure this happens, as well as in a position in which the maintenance of the group is also a precondition for his own survival as a leader: instability and disorder do not bode well for leaders (cf. Nicholas II). The other side of the coin is naturally that leaders also function as scapegoats for the group: if something goes wrong it is usually the leader who will take the blame, e.g. President Ryti for the agreement with the Germans, or President Koivisto for the recession of the 1990s.

The role of the ruler as the upholder of social order translates itself easily into emphasizing Conformity, Security and concerns for the welfare of the nearest (Benevolence) as essential values. Leaders also try to present themselves more similar to what they think their followers are like, to appear to be a “John Doe” rather than a superhero (see Sullivan et al., 1990).²²² The presentation of the ruler as a common mortal might be due to a cultural

²²² However, this can also extend to disclosing dishonest behavior, see Garzia 2010

democratic norm, where the rise to leadership is based on group prototypicality (cf. Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg et al., 2012), or it might be due to what Beetham says (1990) about there being a psychological need to justify power differences.

In terms of rulers of the present study, both views could be sustained, as this type of seeking to appear similar to the people one governs is present in the speeches also in e.g. in references to shared human experiences and the emotions these generate²²³, in addition to the already mentioned evoking of specific values.

How similar are leaders' values to those of their followers?²²⁴ While this is a topic for further study (preferably cross-cultural research, allowing for more robust findings), the following table provides some first inklings of what this might look like. By uniting some of the tables presented earlier, the values in the speeches of the Presidents of the 1990s (the two Social Democrats, Presidents Koivisto and Ahtisaari) can be compared to the findings of Puohiniemi (2002) and Schwartz & Bardi (2001). This table shows the values of the Presidents, ordinary citizens and pan-cultural values in the last decade of the 20th century.

Table 32. *Values of leaders, ordinary citizens and pan-cultural values in 1990s*

Ranking	Presidents	Citizens	Pan-cultural
1	Universalism	Benevolence	Benevolence
2	Benevolence	Security	Self-direction/Universalism
3	Security	Universalism	
4	<i>Work-related values</i>	Conformity	Security
5	Conformity	Self-Direction	Conformity
6	Self-Direction	Hedonism	Achievement
7	Power	Achievement	Hedonism
8	<i>Spirituality</i>	Stimulation	Stimulation
9	<i>Education</i>	Tradition	Tradition
10	Tradition	Power	Power
11	Achievement	-	-
12	Stimulation	-	-
13	Hedonism	-	-

Note: Non-SVT values in italics

²²³ E.g. President Kekkonen speaking of traffic accidents in his New Year's Speech of 1966: "[...] haluan purkaa sydäntäni sen huolestumisen johdosta, johon maantieliikenteemme surkea tila antaa aiheen." [*I want to unbosom my concern to you concerning the lousy state of the traffic on our roads*]

²²⁴ See Valkeapää & Ojala (manuscript in preparation) for comparison in forest policy context of MPs and citizens values.

Theoretical considerations

From a theoretical point of view the results seem to indicate that apart from the well-attested universal SVT values, the Non-SVT values played a crucial role in covering the value-expressions.

More research is naturally still needed to establish the role and place of Spirituality values and Work-related values in relation to the SVT values. In order to establish in any way the potential role and place of the Education values, one of the new findings of the present study, more theoretical considerations and empirical research is needed, in addition to the present context and content based reasons for taking them into consideration. On the other hand, Education values do however seem to resemble what Wach & Hammer (2003a) found concerning rational truth as a value.

In terms of the discussion whether the SVT fits modern or Western societies better than pre-modern or non –Western ones, it does seem that at least in the case of Finland, the abovementioned values need to be included to give a fuller picture of what motivates people as well as what is the basis for evaluation for other people, actions and events. If indeed for example Spirituality or Work-related values are essential, as they seem to be in this study, it would indicate that they need to be included. This obviously does not mean that the values posited by SVT would not fit non-Western societies; it just means that they alone might not be sufficient to give a true picture of them. Also, as Lönnqvist and his colleagues found (Lönnqvist et al, 2006), high Conformity values affect the way other values function; this in turn could be a feature of many societies which operate on similar cultural assumptions as 19th century Finland, which also features high Spirituality values.

The more problematic question is the role and definition of value types²²⁵. In Power values, for example, apart from the domination, there is a genuine motivation to acquire wealth, which in the context of the present study did not translate itself as a quest for personal gain, but is present as a quest to raise the economic level of the nation, and the seeing this as good. As to dominion, or possession of resources at the expense of others, probably due to geopolitical realities, this was not present. Also, the reason why Power values play a different role, and have a different prominence in this data than what might be found in e.g. representative samples of citizens, can be due to the rulers considering the pursuit of power and having and wielding it completely legitimate. Especially in a democratic context, it is the explicit will of the people that puts the President in power, and gives her or him the space in which to exercise this power. Pride in the achievements of the nation, ensuring its good reputation (e.g. a triple-A credit rating), positive economic

²²⁵ For a new more finely tuned instrument for value assessment, see Schwartz et al. 2012 and Cieciuch et al, 2013.

growth are all ideals worthy to be pursued on a national level, as is expressed in the speeches.

Another example of the more problematic facets of values is the broad nature of the definitions of Universalism values. On the other hand, the pursuit of peace is very close to the motivational core of Security values, which effect can be seen e.g. in the plot of the relative proximity of values (see section 7.5, and Appendix 1), but on the other hand the single Universalism value items of tolerance and equality, let alone social justice, seem better to characterize more democratic societies, and to be closer to Self-Direction as a value type. Therefore it would warrant a more in depth reading of the qualitative results to determine how far the Universalism of e.g. 1850s is similar to that of 1950s(11,2%), as the figures reported in Table 22 are very similar, 10.5% and 11.2% respectively.

The present study indicates that some of the findings become comprehensible only with the context taken into account. This is in line with e.g. Tsirogianni and Gaskell (2011), who strongly call for a new more systematic inclusion of context, and similar concerns are also voiced by more mainstream Schwartzian researchers Sortheix and Lönnqvist (2014). It follows therefore that from the viewpoint of the present research, an interesting direction of future research would be to see how the public speeches from different cultural regions have evolved value-wise over time, setting them in their historical context. This seems to be a growing phenomenon from a theoretical point of view, so that increasingly historical and political context is used as a tool to interpret the results (and vice versa), cf. Gelfand et al. (2011). Further considerations of the relationship the SVT values have with non-SVT values and the historical context included questions such as would SVT values need to be accompanied by the same set of Non-SVT values as in this research? Or would the presently included non-SVT values (e.g. Work-related values) be replaced by other values? How culturally specific are Work-related values and Spirituality values?²²⁶.

Methodological considerations

As was stated in the beginning, one of the aims of the present study was to demonstrate the necessity to include contextual data in value research, which has mostly favored quantitative methods based on survey data. The approach used in the present study is based on the notion of pragmatism²²⁷; as Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004, p.16) state “the bottom line is that research approaches should be mixed in ways that offer the best opportunities for answering important research questions”.

²²⁶ See eg. Minkov & Hofstede (2012) for interesting cross-cultural results regarding long-term orientation, a component of Work-related values.

²²⁷ Cf. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004)

The statistical similarities reported in the previous chapter do not by any means entail similarity of utterances, let alone signify that the actual speeches were identical. Without wanting to make far-reaching assumptions of the extent of the posited universality of values in SVT, the many-faceted nature of each value type²²⁸ (e.g. the already mentioned example of Universalism including single value items from social justice to peace to equality to tolerance) means that the Universalism values of one might not be the same value items mentioned by another, even though they both are classified as Universalism. Therefore mere quantitative analysis, especially considering how varied as the texts themselves were in length, and how much the number of speeches per person varied (from the 3 by President Mannerheim to the 76 by President Kekkonen), could not paint a true picture of what the data contains.

However, the reverse is also true: qualitative analysis alone would simply not be enough. For instance, the sheer bulk of the material means that it would be very difficult to compare the rulers in any meaningful way, let alone compare historical/political periods. The statistical tools which have been used have undoubtedly been very necessary, and have therefore been reported in a greater detail than what would seem to be necessary for a study emphasizing qualitative information. Both approaches have contributed in answering the original research questions, and have shed their unique light on the data.

In the light of the present research, it would therefore seem that at least archive value research needs a multi-angle approach, however e.g. Tsirogianni and Gaskell (2012), call for context being taken into account in value research in general. To establish how this is best done is undoubtedly a matter for future research, and maybe even cross disciplinary approaches would be beneficial.

Methodologically the use of Content Analysis (CA) in value research was relatively new when this project was started. There seems to be an increasing body of literature (cf. the research of Suedfeld and his colleagues) linking CA and values research, but to my knowledge the present study is the most extensive so far, also language-wise²²⁹. The advantages of this method naturally lie in its non-invasiveness, and in it not being time bound, which makes its applicability wider.

What is required though is that there be linguistically competent coders²³⁰, therefore the use of CA in e.g. old or linguistically remote texts might prove problematic. Future research is also needed to build up a body of

²²⁸ This question has been addressed by Schwartz et al. (2012), and they offer a refined tool and definition of values, dividing the former 10 regions into 19.

²²⁹ This research used material from two different language families, namely Swedish, an Indo-European language, and Finnish, a Finno-Ugric language.

²³⁰ Cf. Suedfeld & Bricic, 2011.

various texts to establish more comprehensive historical and geographical baselines.

The coding manual, which was created for this study, and the principles for coding delineated in chapter 6 have also proved to be efficient tools also for future studies. They are presently being used in two studies: one looking at forest policy issues and the other cross-cultural comparison of public speeches. Both seem to yield results, further attesting to the usability of the method employed in the present study.

Future directions

Throughout the discussion I have tried also to raise questions which extend over the results of the present study. Much work remains to be done to understand more deeply the role of leaders and followers especially in terms of shared values in a national context. The present study has delineated some possible starting points by the coding of public speeches, easily extendable to other public documents, but much more remains to be done. The assumption that leaders and followers are of one group (cf. Haslam et al. 2011) begs the question, and therefore more research, on how much citizens actually identify with their leaders, and how similar to themselves they perceive the leaders to be, and what role values play in this²³¹. Also, does this vary from country to country, from polity to polity? How does power distance play into this? As mentioned before from a cultural viewpoint it would be fruitful to extend the comparison of values in leaders' public speeches also to non-Western ones, using as the baseline for citizens the existing waves of value surveys (e.g. World Value Survey).

Another area of application is linking the present findings to e.g. institutions of higher education, which from the Finnish perspective is a very interesting and timely question. In terms of professional identity, do the students hold values similar to the leaders of such institutions (e.g. professors, lecturers, rectors), and how is this linked to the overall policies of education in vigor²³²? That students' values differ has been attested (cf. Helkama et al. 2003; Koivula & Verkasalo, 2006; Myyry & Helkama, 2001; Ylijoki, 2000), but more remains to be done, especially in the area of identification and in the accumulation of professional capital (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

In terms of value research, it would be very fruitful to delve deeper into the multiplicity of expressed values (c.f. Tsirogianni & Gaskell, 2011). If on a theoretical level values are presented as a dichotomy, and yet in natural language they are not presented in such a way, how would the presently used

²³¹ The results of Garzia, 2010 and Caprara et al., 2006 give some ideas of some of the mechanisms, but are not exhaustive.

²³² see Hakala & Ylijoki, 2001 in the Finnish context

survey instruments need to be changed in order to reflect more accurately the everyday use of values?

Also, as the establishing of any direct causal links between the values which were mentioned in the speeches and the historical events themselves remains sketchy by necessity, and therefore the implications of the present findings are given with fairly broad strokes.

Conclusion

The results of this study can be summarized in the following: Observed societal level value pluralization in the public speeches is curbed by the nature of the role of a national leader: as the guarantor of cohesion he or she values conformity and other cohesion-upholding values more than the otherwise holding pattern of pluralization would warrant.

In the context of this study, being an efficient and successful leader means overall linking the upheld values to context of relevant political and historical times, and doing so in such a way as to maintain the bonds that bind rulers and the people they rule together, which brings us back to where we started:

*All mankind is of one author, and is one volume [...] No man is an island
entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main.*

John Donne, 1623

For these bonds to be fair and just, truly promoting the welfare of all concerned more is needed than just rhetorically convincing speeches. What it will take to produce leaders who can inspire those kinds of values and put them into action, remains the topic of much further research and practice.

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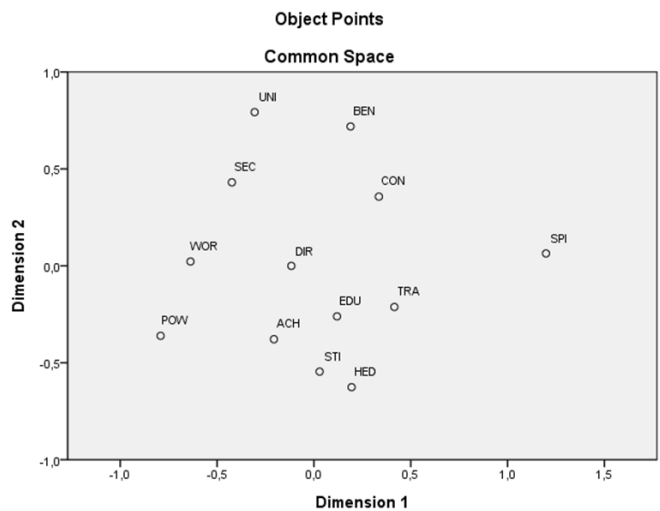
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APPENDIX:

Proximity plots for values during Grand Duchy and Independence

1. Grand Duchy 1809-1911



2. Independent Republic 1917-2000

